

The 4. Booke of Quintus Curtius, of the acts of *Alexander* the great, King of *Macedon*.



Darius which a little before was Lord of so great an Army, and that came vnto the field, carried aloft vpon his Chariot, more like to triumphe then to fight, fled by the places the waste and desert, which he before had filled wth his infinit numbers of men of war. There were but few that followed him: for neither they fled al one way, nor such as followed could keepe pace with him that so often changed horses. At length he came to Vnchas, where he was receiued of foure *D. Greeces*, which conducted him to the riuer of Euphrates, thinking all such his Countries to be lost, in the which hee could not preuent Alexander by hast making. Parmenio was appointed Gouvernour of Syria, and to be the keeper of the treasure

of Quintus Curtius.

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treasure and prisoners which hee tooke at Damasco. The Syrians could not at y first beare the new gouernment, because they had not yet felt the scourge of the warres, but as they revolted, they were straight way subdued, performing all that they were appointed to do. The Ile of Arade was yelded to Alexander, whereof Strato was King, that had in subiection all the Sea coast, with diuers of the Island Countries, who submitting himselfe, Alexander removed to the Citie of Marathon. There he receiued Letters from Darius, that put him in great choller, because they were so arrogant, ly witten. The speciall point that moued Alexander, was for that Darius w^{riting} himselfe King, did not vouchsafe to giue him that tytle, but did w^{rite} rather by way of commandement, then of request; profering for the ran- some of his wife and children, so much money as Macedon could receiue. For the superi- oritie (hee said) hee put it to his choise, to trie it by the sword if hee list. But if he would bee bet- ter aduised, he willed him to be content with his owne inheritance, and so he would ioyne in amitie with him, & become his friend, in which point he was ready to enter into treaty. Alex- ander did w^{rite} to him again after this maner.
Darius whose name thou hast vsurped, did great destruction vpon the Greeces inhabi-
ting

The fourth booke supplied
 ting on the coast of *Helleſpont*, and vpon the
 Ionians, which be Greeke Citties, paſſing
 from thence to the ſea with a great Army to
 make warre againſt *Greece* and *Macedon*.
 And alſo King *Xerxes* thy predeceſſour,
 came to ſubdue vs with infinite numbers,
 which beeing vanquiſhed in a battaile on the
 Sea, left notwithstanding *Mardonius* be-
 hinde him in *Greece*, to deſtroy their Citties,
 and burne theyr Countries. It is manifeſt
 beſides, that *Philip* my father was ſlaine by
 ſuch as were corrupted therevnto with your
 money. Yee vndertake alwaies vniuſt warres,
 and occupying armes, goe about for all that
 to circumuent men with treaſon. As thou of
 late, hauing ſuch number of men in thine ar-
 my, didſt procure my death with the promiſe
 of a thouſand Talents, I am not therefore the
 beginner of the warres, but repulſe ſuch iniu-
 ries as be proffered me. In dooing whereof
 through the helpe of the Gods (which fauour
 alway the right) haue brought the more part
 of *Aſia* vnder my ſubiection: and hauing o-
 uercome thee in battaile by force of armes,
 there is no cauſe that I ſhould grant thee any
 thing, which haſt not oblerued towards me
 the law of Armes; yet if thou wilt come and
 ſubmit thy ſelfe, I promiſe thee that I will de-
 liuer both thy mother, wife, and children: for
 both

both I know how to get the victorie, & how
 to vſe ſuch as I ouercome: but if thou feareſt
 to commit thy ſelfe to vs, I will giue thee
 ſafe conduct to come freely. In the reſt when
 thou writeſt vnto me, remember that thou
 writeſt not only to a King, but alſo vnto him
 that is thy King.

He ſent this Letter by *Therſipus*, and went
 from thence into *Phenicia*, where the Cittie of
Biblon was yeelded vnto him: and ſo came
 vnto *Sydon*, which was a Cittie of great nobi-
 lity, by reaſon of the antiquitie and fame of the
 builders. The ſame was vnder *Seratos* Do-
 minion, ſupported by the power of *Darius*,
 who yeelding more by the conſtraint of the
 people, then of his owne good wil, was thought
 unworthy to raigne there. *Alexander* made
 a graunt to *Epheltion*, that hee ſhould make
 ſuch one King, whom *Sydon*s thought moſt
 worthy that eſtate. There were diuers noble
 young men in that Cittie that had familiaritie
 with *Epheltion*, of whom he purpoſed to haue
 choſen one King: but they reſuſed his offer,
 affirming that none might enioy that dignitie,
 except hee were deſcended of the bloud royall.
Epheltion wondered at the magnanimities
 that was in them, in deſpiſing the thing which
 others ſought for by ſword and fire, and there-
 fore ſaid: Continue you ſtill in that vertuous
 minde,

season Amyntas with foure thousand Greekes that escaped with him out of the field, fledde to Tripolis, where hee embarked, and sayled vnto Cypres; thinking the world to bee such then, that euery one might enioy that hee could get, like as it had bene his owne inheritance. His purpose was to goe into Egypt, thinking there to become enemy both to Darius and Alexander, and to waye with the world according as the time should alter. To bring therfore his souldiers to hope well of his enterprise, he declared how the Governour of Egypt was slaine in the battaile, and that the Persians left there in garrison were but a small number, of little force, and without any head. He shewed how the Egyptians vsed to rebell against their Governours, wherefore they were sure to be received as friends. For since necessity (quoth he) hath enforced vs to proue our fortunes, which failing vs in our first hope, we must now think that things to come shall bee much better then our present estate. They all agreed with one voyce, that hee should lead them where hee list. Whereupon thinking good not to pretermitt the occasion whiles the hope was hotte in their hearts, conveyed them into Egypt, & entred the haven at Pelusium, vnder pretence that he had bin sent thither by Darius. When he had gotten Pelusium, he set forwards towards Memphis,

phus, at the same of whose coming, the Egyptians being a light Nation, & more apt to make a fire, then to maintaine it when it is once begun, ran to him out of all townes and villages, with intent to destroy all the Persians. But they notwithstanding y^e feare they were in, did not leaue the defence of the country, but fought with the Greekes, and were put to flight. After that victorie Amyntas besieged Memphis, and his men destroyed so all the countrey therabouts, y^e they left nothing vnspoiled. Whereupon Mazeches, though hee perceived his souldiers much amazed with the feare of they late ouerthrow, yet when he sawe his enemies scattered abroad, and without order, so y^e pride they had conceived of their victorie: at length perswaded his men to issue out of the Citie, and in setting vpon their enemies, recouer againe that they had lost. Which aduice being good of it selfe, by good handling tooke most fortunate successe. For they slew at that time both Amyntas and all his company. This punishment hee suffered for the offence committed to both Princes, being neither faithfull to Alexander, whom hee forsooke, nor to Darius to whom hee fled. Darius Captaines which escaped from the battaile of Isson, gathering together such men as were scattered abroad, and such power beside as they could leuie in Cappadocce

doce & Paplagonia, did attempt to reconer & gaine the Countrey of Lidia. Antigonus was Gouvernor for Alexander there, who notwithstanding that he had taken many souldiers out of the Garrisons to send vnto Alexander, yet hee so little esteemed his enemies, that he doubted not to aduenture the battaile. The Persians there receiued the like fortune they did in other places: which attempting the fight in three sundrie Countreies, were banquished in the end. At the same time the name of the Macedons which Alexander had sent forth out of Greece, meeting Aristomenes (whom Darius had appointed to make war vpon the coast of Hellespont) took and drowned all his ships. Farnabazus, Darius Admirall, hauing exacted money at Milesium, and set a Garrison in Seio, passed into the Isle of Andros with a hundred ships. And from thence hee went to Shiphnus, and putting men of warre into all the Ilands, exacted of them money. The greatnesse of the warre that was in hand betwene two of the most puissant Princes of Asia and Europe, did drawe both Greece and Crete to Armes. Agis the King of Lacedemon gathered together eight thousand Greeces that were come home out of Cilicia, and moued war to Antipater, that was Gouvernour of Macedon. The Cretians following sometime one part, and

sometime another, receiued one while Garrison of Macedons, & another while of Lacedemonians, to lie amongst them. But those wars were of no great importance. For all mens eyes were fixed vpon the warres that were in hand betwene Alexander and Darius, wherevpon all the rest did depend. The Macedons had subdued all Syria and Phenices, Tyre onely except, which being the greatest and most notable Citie of all that Countrey, shewed that they esteemed themselves worthy rather to ioyne with Alexander as friends, then to become his subiects. For when hee was come neare vnto them, and encamped vpon the maine land, which is deuised from their Citie with a small arme of the sea: They sent to him by their Embassadors, a crowne of Gold for a present, with great plentie besides of victuals for his army. He receiued their gifts as from his friends, and gaue gentle answers vnto the Embassadors: but he shewed himselfe much desirous to make sacrifice vnto Hercules. (whom the Syrians specially worshipped, and the Macedon kings supposed themselves to be descended of him) being admonished therevnto (as he said) by an Oracle. The Embassadors made answer, that there was a temple of Hercules without their Citie, in the place which they call Phaetiron, where as he might do sacrifice at his pleasure. At those

of Quintus Curtius.
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Upon this harting they determined to abide the extremitie, and placed their engines vpon the towers and the walles, deuiding their Armour amongst the youth of the Citie. The Artificers, whereof the Cittie had great plentie, were deuided into worke-houses, to make all such things as were necessary for the warres. There were deuised certaine instruments wherewith they might pull downe the workes that they enemies made, called Harpagoni: and also Crowes of Iron, named Corui, with all other thinges that might be inuented for the defence of Cities. But a strange thing is reported, that when the Iron was put in the Forge, and blowne in the fire, the same was seene to be full of drops of blood. Which wonder the Tyrians did interpret as a token of good fortune towards themselves, and as a signification of destruction towards their enemies. A like thing was seene among the Macedons. For when a certaine souldier was breaking of his bread, drops of blood appeared therein. Whereat Alexander being astonied, Aristander that was most cunning of all the Diuiners of their religion, did interpret thus the matter. If the blood had appeared outwardly, then it had signified good fortune to the Macedons; but in as much as it was found within, it betokened destruction

to the Citie they went about to get. Alexander considering his nauie to be far from him, and that a long siege should be great impediment to his other affaires, sent Officers of Armes vnto the Cittie to perswade them vnto peace, whom the Tyrians against the lawe of Nations, did drown in the Sea. Their vniust death stirred Alexander so much, that hee then vtterly determined to goe forwards with the siege. But before hee could make his approach, it was of necessitie for him to make a Breke or a Hole, wherby they might passe from the maine land to the Citie. But in the making thereof, there entered great dispaire into all mens hearts, considering the deepenesse of the Sea, which they saue not possible to be filled scarcely by any Diuine power. For they thought no stones so great, no Trees so high, nor any countrie to haue such plentie, as might suffice for building of a banke in such a place, considering the sea remained alwaies troubled. And the narrower the place was betwene the Citie and the Land, so much more greater was the rage. But Alexander that had the way to allure his souldiers to what effect him pleased, declared how that Hercules appeared vnto him in his sleepe, and gaue him his hand, profering to be his Captaine and his guide for the entrance of the Citie. Therevnto

the killing of his Embassadors, whereby they had violated and broken the lawe that all Nations obserued, and that there remained but onely one Citie which staid his victory. Whereupon he deuised the worke amongst his Capitaines, that euery one might apply his owne hand, and so put the worke in hand, when he had once sufficiently encouraged his men. There were great plentie of stones at hand, of the mines of the old citie where Tyre stood before, and for the making of boats and Towers, timber was brought from the Mount Libanus. The worke did grow from the bottome of the Sea like a Mountaine, but not yet brought to the high water marke. And the further y^e Port was brought from the land vnto the seaward, so much the sooner the Sea did swallow vp the substance of things, whercof the same was made. Whiles the Macedons were thus about their worke, the Tyrians would come about them in small vessels, and giue them worke of reproach and scoone: as they were now become goodly men of war, that would bee make pyoners, and carrie burdens like beasts vpon their backes. And they asked them also if they thought Alexander to bee greater then the God of the Sea. But their reproffe did not hinder but encrease the chearfulness of the soldiers in their paine and trauell. In so much y^e Port

spole in a short space surmounted above the water, and encreasing much in breadth, approached neare vnto the citie. When the Tyrians seeing the hugeness of the worke, in the increase wherof they saw themselves deceived, little thinking that it would haue growne to such passe, in little vessels came rowing about the Port, and did giue the souldiers with shot from their working, and because it lay in them to bring the Boates suddenly forwards, and returne some againe, they hurt many of the Macedons, without any daunger to themselves, enforcing them to leaue their worke, and fall to their owne defence. For remedie whercof, and to auoyd the enemies shot, they were compelled to stretch out beastes skinnes vpon poles like sayles, and set those betwene them and their enemies. And besides, at the head of the Port they raised vp two Towers, from whence with shot and casting of Darts, they kept off the boates that came about them. On the other side the Tyrians would land with their boates far out of the sight of the Campe, and kill such as were carrying of Stones. The Peasants besides of Arabia did set vp on certaine Macedons that were scattered abroad in the Mount Libanus, where they slew and tooke diuers. That was one cause which moued Alexander to deuise his

Armie. And least hee might seeme to remaine Idly about the siege of one Cittie, hee appointed Perdicas and Craterus to take the charge of the worke hee had in hand, and went into Arabia with such part of his power most apt for his purpose. In the meane season the Lyzians prepared a great Shippe laden with stones and grauell behinde, so that the forepart floated aboue the water; which Shippe appointed ouer with Pitch and Brimstone, they brought suddenly by sayling and force of Wind vnto the Piere, and there remaining, the Marinerers set the ship on fire; and then leaped into the Boates which followed after for the purpose. The shippe thus set on fire, so enflamed the wood worke pertaining to the Piere, that befoze any rescue could come, the fire had taken the Towers of the Piere, and all the rest of the works that were made in the head. When they that were leaped into the boates, saw the matter take such effect, they put betwixt the Timber and other voyd places, both firebrands, and all such thinges as might giue nourishment and encrease to the fire: so that the towers and all the rest being on a flame, many of the Macedons were consumed therewith, and the rest forsooke theyr Armour, and threw themselves into the sea. When the Lyzians that were most desirous to take the aline, then to kil them, with

Claued

Claued & stones did so beat them on the hands, as they were swimming, that for wearinesse they were glad to be taken vp into their boats. The whole worke was not consumed with fire onely. For it chaunced also the same day, a terrible Winde to rise, which blowing out of the Sea, brought the waues with such violence vpon the Piere, that with often beating of the Seas, the ioynts that knit the worke together, began to lose and leaue their hold. When the Water that washed thzough, brake downe the Piere in the middes, so that the heaps of stones which were befoze sustained by the timber and earth cast betwixt them, once broken a sunder, the whole worke fell to ruine, and was carried away into the deepe Sea. By that time Alexander was returned out of Arabie, and scarcely found any remaine or token, that any such worke had bene. In that case (as it is euer bled in things that chaunce euill) one laide the fault vpon an other, when indeed the violence of the Sea was the cause of all. Alexander began to make the Piere againe after a new sort, the head therof lying into the weather and the wind, and not the open side as it did befoze: so that the fore-front alwayes defended the rest of the worke lying behinde. Hee encreased also the breadth thereof, to the intent the towers might be builded in the midst of the Piere, where

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whereby they should be least subiect to the enemies shot. Whole trees were put into the Sea with their toppes and bzaunches, and after great stones throwne vpon them. And once those a new course of trees and stone againe, by which druce this whole worke was ioyned and knit all in one. As the Macedons were busie to bring their worke forwards, so the Tyrians were as diligent to inuent all such things, as might giue impediment to their proceeding. Theyr chiefe practise was, for a number of them to enter into the Sea a far off out of the Macedons sight, and so come diuing vnder the water till they came vnto the Mere, where with hookes they would pull vnto them the banchs of the Trees that appeared out of the stones, whereby the stones and the other substance followed after into the deepe. For the Trees being discharged of their burthens, were easily drawne away, and then the foundation failing, the whole worke that stayed vpon the Trees fell to ruine. Amongst these impediments Alexander stood in great perplexitie of minde, doubting whether hee should continue the siege still, or else depart his way. When hee was in this imagination, suddenly his Raie arriued from Cyprus, and Cleander also with such souldiers as he had brought out of Greece. And hauing to the number of 180.

ships,

ships, deuided them into two Battailles, whereof hee committed the one vnto Pythagoras the King of Cyprus, and to Craterus, and took charge of the other himselfe, committing his owne person in a Galley called Cynquereme, which had five Myes on a banke. The Tyrians durst not aduenture the sea fight although they had a great Raie, but set all theyr Gallies in a front before the walles of their Citie, which the King assailed and put to distresse. The next day the Macedons with their shippes environed the Citie round about, and did beate downe the walles, specially with such Engines as they call Arietes. But the Tyrians straight way reformed and made by theyr walles againe with stones that lay at hande, and raised by an inward wall rounde about within the Citie, which might be theyr defence if the other sayled. But theyr destruction approached on euerie side, the Hole was wrought within the cast of a Dart, and the Ships gaue the approach round about the walles, so that they were overlaid both by Sea and by Land. The Macedons had deuised to ioyne theyr Gallies two and two together, in such sort that the fore parts met close before, and the hinder parts lay farre off one from the other. And ouer the spaces remaining betwixt puppe and puppe, they

they made bridges with Masts & maine parts laid betwixt Galley and Galley, fast bound together to carrie souldiers vpon. When they had put their Gallies in this order, they set forward towards the Cittie. And hauing rampired the prizes for defence of the souldiers that were behinde, they stood in theyr Gallies and did shoote and cast darts against their enemies, without any perill or danger to themselves. It was midnight when they had commaundment to set forward after this manner. As the ships were approaching on all parts and the Tyrians stood astonied for feare and desperation, suddenly the Skye was overwhelmed with dimme Cloudes, and sudden darkenesse took away the light. When the Sea by little and little waxed terrible and rough, the winde blew, raising vp the Waues, and did beate the Ships one against another: the violence whereof, burst a sunder the bands and graspers wherewith the galleys were fastned together. Which done, the bridges crashed and flew a sunder, and with the souldiers that stood vpon them, fell into the sea. There was great confusion, for the ships entangled thus together, could by no meanes be gouerned in such a tempest, the Souldiers disturbing the seate of the Harriners, and the Harriners giuing impediment to the office of the souldiers.

Thus

Thus (as it doth often happen in such case) the expert were obedient to the ignozant, for the Ship-maisters that were wont to commaund, then for feare of death were directed by other. But at length by force of rowing, the Gallies recouered the shore, the more part of them being broken and tozne. It chaunced at the same time 30. Embassadors to come from Carthage to Tyre, who gaue more comfort then assistance to them that were besieged. For they shewed how the Carthagens were so assailed with warres at their owne homes, that they could by no meanes send them succour. In so much as the Syracusans were burning in Affrike, and had encamped themselves vnder the very walles of Carthage. The Tyrians yet were not discomfited, for all that they were disappointed of their speciall trust, but deliuered vnto those Embassadors, theyr wiues and theyr children to carrie vnto Carthage, thinking to endure more stoutly the siege, if the things which were more deare vnto them, were removed out of daunger. There was a Tyrian which in an open assembly declared that Apollo (whom the Tyrians greatly do worship) had appeared to him in his sleepe, seeming to him that hee had forsaken the Cittie, and transformed the Wole that the Macedons had made, into a great wood. Wherevpon though

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the authoꝝ were of small credit, yet foꝛ as much as men in feare are apt to beleue the worst, they tyed Apolloses Image with a Golden chaine, and bound fast also the Altar of Hercules (to whom the Cittie was dedicate) thinking by deteining of the one, to keepe still the other. The Carthagens in times past had brought that Image from Syracuse, and had placed it in the head Cittie, out of the which they were descended. Foꝛ their custome was to adorne Tyre with such spoiles as they had taken, no lesse then they did Carthage it selfe. They at that time would also haue bene a thozs vnto the Tyzians foꝛ the reuuing of an old sacrifice that had bin omitted many yeares, wherein they vsed to offer vpp to Saturne a free borne childe. Which being rather a sacrifice ledge then a sacrifice, the Carthagens received of theyꝝ first founders, and still obserued the same, till theyꝝ Citie was destroyed. And but the ancient men by whom all things were gouerned, had withstand it, this wicked superstition had taken place, which nature & humilitie doth abhorre. The necessitie that was hanging ouer their heads, being moze effectiue all then any Art oꝛ Science, practised not onely such things as were accustomed foꝛ defence, but also found out that was neuer invented before. Foꝛ to the disturbance of the ships that

approach

approached the walles, they deuised long rascers, to the which they fastned grasplers of Iron, and great hookes like Sittes, which letten downe with ropes by an Engine, eyther tare ships, oꝛ destroyed the men. They inuented also Targets of mettall to be made fire hotte, in the which they put burning sand, and scalding lyme, and then polized the same down vppon the Macedons that came neare to the walles, being a mischiese that they feared most of all other. Foꝛ when the hotte sand entered betwene the harneis and the body, there was no meanes to auoyd it away: and where it touched, it burned to the bones, so that they were enforced to throw away theyꝝ Harneys, and teare away all thinges they had vppon their bodies. Whereby they became subiect to be hurt by theyꝝ enemies, and were not in case to endamage them againe. But specially the grasplers letten downe (called Corui) took violently away many of the Souldiers that were within the ships. Alexander seeing the obstinate defence of the Tyzians, was wearie of the matter, and determined to raise his siege, and goe vnto Egypt. Foꝛ considering in how short a space hee had subdued Asia, it grieved him to be deteined so long about the walles of one Citie, whereby hee omitted the occasion and opportunitie of greater things in the means

in this
Lib. 4. p. 56
L. 4. c. 1.
Tem. p. 1.

The fourth booke supplied
meane season. But he was as much ashamed
to depart without his purpose, as to remain
there and leaue other things vndone: Jud-
ging that if he should leaue Tyre after that
as a witnesse that he might bee withstood,
should much impaire his fame, wherewith he
had gotten more then with force. And it chaun-
ced at the same time, a monster of an exceeding
bignes to appeare, as well in the sight of the Ty-
rians as the Macedons, which lying vpon his
backe aboue the water, came towards the
Hole, and when he had lifted vp himselfe at the head
of the Hole, diued vnder the water againe
sometime appearing aboue, and sometime by-
ding himselfe vnderneath, when he came neere
the walles of the Cittie vanished out of sight.

The sight of this Monster reioyced both
parties, the Macedons enterpizing the same
to bee sent them as a guide for their direction
to furnish out the worke. And the Tyrians
imagining that Neptune in reuenging the usurpa-
tion that the Macedons had made vpon the
Sea, would shortly destroy the worke that
they had made, in such like sort as hee had ta-
ken away the Monster. They vpon their owne
imagination, conceived such a gladnesse, and
prognosticated to themselves such good for-
tune, that they fell to banquetting and danc-
king. And when they were well charged with

wine

of Quintus Curtius. 37
wine, at the Sunne rising they set Garlandes
of flowers vpon their heads, and mounted in-
to Gallies, not onely with hope of victorie, but
with a triumph made before hand. It chaun-
ced at the same time that Alexander hadde
conueyed his nauie to the contrarie side of the
Cittie, and left vpon the shore thirtie of the smal-
lest vessels, of the which the Tyrians caught
two, and put the rest in danger of distressing,
vntil such time as the king hearing the alarme,
set forwards with his nauie towards that part
where the cry was heard. The first Galley of
the Macedons that came neare them was a
quinquereme, the swiftest of all the rest, which
when the Tyrians espied, they came against
her with 2. Gallies crossed vpon her side: wher-
of the one strake full with her Spurne, with
whom the Cinquereme grasped, and the o-
ther which was loose and at libertie fell vpon her
contrarie side. But least betwene them two
shee might sustaine some damage, one of A-
lexanders Tryemes came to the rescue with
such violence, that the maister of the lose Gale-
ley was stricken into the sea. When the Tyri-
ans saw that Alexander was come himselfe,
and more of his ships at hand, then to strength
of Dyes and great difficulty, they set their Gale-
ley that was entangled, loose againe and at li-
bertie, making towards their hauen with all

the

the

the haste they might. Alexander immediately pursued them, but when he came to the haven he could not enter, but was beaten off with shot from the walles, yet he did take and destroy the most part of their Gallies. After this adventure he rested his souldiers two dayes, and then willed his ships to be brought forward and the engines in them, to the intent that by assailing the Tyrians on all sides, he might put them in extreame feare. Alexander with a wonderful courage not without great perill of his person, mounted up into the top of a tower which was made in a ship, & there knowne by his apparrell and rich armour, was chiefly laid at, and shot to from all parts. He wrought wonderfull feats with his owne person, for both with his pike by slaw diuers that stood at defence, & afterwards fought hand to hand with his sword and target, throwing diuers downe from their defence, for the tower wherein he fought toynd hard to the walles. By that time the Engines called Arietes, with much beating had stricken downe the walles, the Naue was got within the Haven, and certaine of the Macedons had won the towers. The Tyrians then oppressed with so many miseries at once, were cleane discomfited: some fled for succour unto the temples, some did shut their doores, taking that kind of death they liked best. And

other

other ran upon their enemies to sell their liues deare. But the most part got up into the tops of their houses, and from thence did cast down upon their enemies whatsoever came unto their hands. Alexander commaunded all to be slaine without exception, saving such as fled into the temples, and willed the houses to be set on fire. Though that were proclaimed through the Citie, yet there was none bearing Armour that would save themselves that way: for as the women and children filled the temples, so the men kept the entries of their houses, ready to abide the crueltie of their enemies. Yet the Sydonians were the occasion that many were saved, who serving in the wars against the Macedons, and entering the Citie with the rest, were mindfull of their affinity with the Tyrians (Agenor being builders of both their Cities) & conveyed many into their ships, which they sent privily unto Sydon. By that meanes fifteen thousand escaped the crueltie of sword. The number of them that were slaine may partly be conjectured, in that there were found dead within the Citie sixe thousand of such as bare Armour. The kings wrath towards the Citie made the sight dolorous unto the victors. For two thousand whom the furie of the slaughter had left alive, were afterwards hanging upon crosses along the sea coast. The Em

The fourth booke supplied
bassadoers of the Carthagens were saued, they threathed to make war against them, the which he was then letted by other business he had in hand. Thus Tyre was taken the moneth after it was besieged, a Citie notable to the posteritie, as well throught the antiquitie it was of, as also by y^e often chaunge of fortune that it had suffered. It was builded by Agenor, and many yeares was master of y^e seas not only nere therabout, but in al places where as their nauires come: and it we list to credit the same, y^e Citie was the first which either taught or learned letters. They builded Citties, & put in the inhabitors throughtout the moze parts of the world, both Carthago in Affrike. Thebes in Boetia, & Cades in Spaine vpon y^e Ocean. It to be thought that by reason of their freecourthrought all seas, and by visiting many strange Countreys, they had occasion to chuse out Seates to place in their youth, whereof there then abound. Or else as some write, the inhabitors wearied to dwell there by reason of many earthquakes, were compelled of force to seeke out strange dwelling places. But after many casualties that happened vnto Tyre, after the destruction newly renewed, and things growne againe throught long peace, remaineth now vnder y^e defence of the Roman clemencie. About the same time Alexander

received Letters from Darius, wherein at last he was contented to name him King.
His request was, that Alexander would receiue his daughter *Sapteyne* for his Wife, with whom he offred in dower, all the Countrey betweene *Helespont*, and the River of *Alys*, and would reserue vnto himselfe onely such Kingdomes as lay from thence, Eastward. And if peraduenture hee should sticke to receiue this offer, hee willed him to consider that fortune is not wont to continue long in one estate, & that the greater felicitie men haue, the greater enuie dooth follow them. It was to be doubted (he said) least hee exalted himselfe thorough some vaine and childish affection, like as birds vse to do, whose naturall lightnesse conuey them to the Stars. For there was nothing more difficult in so yong yeares, then to beare well such height and greatnesse of Fortune. He willed him also to consider, that there remained yet many countries that he had not touched, and that he should not alwaies meet him in straights, hauing to passe the River of *Euphrates*, *Tygre*, *Araxes*, and *Hydaspes*, which were as Bulwarkes vnto his dominion & when he should come vnto the plains he shuld be ashamed of his small number. He put him in remembrance to wey how long it should be ere hee could

kened how the same went, and were ready to bend that way that Fortune inclined. Alexander visited not in person all such Countries and Cities as refused to do their obedience unto him, but made conquest of them by his deputies. For Cales took Paphlagonia, Antigonus Liconia, and Balachrus ouercame Idarne, Darius Lieutenant, & won Miletum, Amphitour and Egilochus with a navy of an 160. ships subdued all the Ilands betwene Asia and Achaia. And also by the consent of the inhabitants got Tenedon, which alwaies was acceptable to the Persians. They were at the point to haue gotten Scio, but that Pharnabazus Darius deputie, hauing intelligence of the matter, did first apprehend all such as were of the Macedons faction, and committed the Cittie with a small Garrison to Appollonides and Athenagoras, that were enclined to the Persians. Alexanders captaines for all this continued the siege of the Cittie still, not so much in trust of their owne strength, as in hope of the faction they had within the Cittie. In which poynt they were not deceived. For through a sedition which did arise betwene Appollonides and the Captaines of the men of Warre, occasion was ministred vnto the Macedons to enter the towne. When the gate was broken vp, and a band of Macedons entered,

then the Citizens which before had denied to rebell against the Persians, took part with Amphiterus and Egilocus, so that the garrison of the Persians were slain, and Pharnabazus with Appollonides and Athenagoras taken prisoners. There were 12. Gallies taken with their souldiers and rowers, besides 30. ships and vessels of Pyrates, with three thousand Grækes that were in wages with the Persians, with whom the Grækes furnished vp their owne bands, and put the Pirates to death, bestowing the rowers in theyr owne Gallies. It chaunced that Aristonicus the vsurper of Methyna, ignozant of any such matter as was chaunced in the forepart of the night, came with certaine Pirates ships to enter into the hauen, whom when the watch demanded what he was, he said he was Aristonicus, and came to the succour of Pharnabazus. They answered he was at rest, and could not then be spoken withal, but it should be lawfull for him (they said) being their friend, to enter into the hauen for that night, & speake with him when it was day. Aristonicus was the first that entered, and the Pyrates followed him. But whiles they placed their ships, the watchmen drew the chaine againe ouer the hauen, & then called vp such as lay there neare about, so that none of them durst resist, but were

were all taken prisoners, and so deliuered to Amphiterus and Egilocus. From thence the Macedons passed to Mytelene, which was kept by Chares of Athens, with a Garrison of two thousand Persians: but when he was not able to endure the siege, he yielded by the Citie with composition to haue their liues saued, and to depart in safegard vnto Imbros. Darius dispayring of peace which hee had procured both by his Letters and Embassadors, gaue his minde to assemble a new power, and freshly to renew the warre. Wherefore he commaunded the Captaines and rulers of his men to assemble at Babilon, and that Bessus gouernour of the Bactrians, should come thither with all y power he could make. The Bactrians be the most hardiest people amongst those Nations, brauill men, and much abhorring from the delicatenesse of the Persians. For by reason that they border vpon the Scythians, which be a warlike Nation, they are accustomed to liue by theft, and be conuersant continually in armes. But Bessus that was suspected of treason, that he would not be content with the second place, put Darius in great doubt. Who hauing an inkling that he aspired to be King, feared onely his treason, hauing no other way to bring his purpose to passe. Alexander wrought all the wayes hee could to obtaine

know

knowledge where Darius was become, and in to what Countrey he was gone. And yet could not get any intelligence by reason of a custome amongst the Persians, which are wont with a maruellous fidelitie to keepe close theyr Princes secrets, in the uttering whereof, neither feare of death, nor hope of reward can cause them bring forth a word. This was a goodly discipline that the Kings there had of olde time vsed amongst their subiects, in punishing with losse of life the lauishnesse of the tongue, which is there more grieuously chastised then any other crime. Nor there is not in those parts any godnes looked for at any mans hands, that hath not the gift of secretnesse, whereof nature hath giuen a facilitie in man. This was y cause that Alexander was ignorant of all things that his enemies did, and therefore continued his siege before Gaza. Betis was captaine there, who was a man of a notable fidelity towards his prince, which with a small garrison defended the Citie that was of a large compas: wherefore Alexander perceiuing the aduantage of the situation, set many mines in hand. For the lightnesse of the ground made the worke easie, hauing neither rocks nor stones to giue any impediment. They began their mines on y side where they win could not destroy the: & to auoyd y suspicion of any such work in hand, caused an approach to

to

to be made to the walles with towers y^e he
made of timber: but y^e ground would not serve
for their carrying and remouing, by reason
the loosenesse of the sand, whereinto the wheels
sunke, and was the cause that the ioynts of the
towers brake a sunder. About the conueyance
of them, many were hurt, and as much trouble
they had in withdrawing of them, as in set-
ting them forwards. When he perceiued he
could not preuaile by that meanes, he retyred
again his men for that time. But the next day
hee enuironed the Cittie round about to giue
the assault in euery part at once, and before he
returned out of his Campe, made sacrifice af-
ter his Countrey manner, requiring the ayde
of the Goddes. It chaunced as he was so doing,
that a Raven flying by, let fall a clodde (which
shee carryed in her clawes) vpon the Kings
head, where it brake and resolved in peeces:
and the rauen flew vnto the next tower, where
her feathers were so intangled with Pitch at
her lighting, that she could not flye away, but
was taken of the standers thereabouts. This
was thought a matter worthe wherevpon
the Diviners should consult. For hee himselfe
was not free from the superstition of such
things. Therefore Aristander to whom he
gave most credit, did interpret the same to be
a signe of the destruction of that Cittie, but yet
there

there was some perill (hee said) appearing to-
wards the Kings person: for which cause hee
perswaded Alexander that he should not go a-
bout any enterprize that day. Though it grie-
ued him much that one citie should be a stay and
impediment vnto him for his free passage into
Egypt, yet he obeyed the prognosticators, and
caused all his men to retyre. The enemies
tooke courage of theyr departure, thinking
scare to haue bene the cause why they came
not forwards, sayled out of the Cittie and set
vpon their taile. But they were more fierce in
the beginning of the skirmish, then constant in
the maintaining of the same. For when they
saw the Macedons turne about, they stayed and
pursued no further. Alexander hearing the al-
larne, and remembryng nothing the perill that
was prophesied vnto him, at his friends re-
quest put on his Harneis (which hee was si-
dome accustomed to do) and resorted thither
where the skirmish was most hotte. There he
was knowne by a certaine Arabian that was
one of Darius Soldiers, which took vpon
him a desperate enterprize to kill Alexander,
and therefore making his pretence to bee as a
fugitive from the Persians, kept his sword se-
cret vnderneath his Target, and fell downe on
his knees before him. Who iudging that hee
had fled to him for succour, willed him to bee
recei-

recheued among his owne men. But the Arabian therewithall strake at the King with his sword, which hee by a little stepping aside, auoyded from his throat, and cut off the Arabians hand that missed of his stroake. Alexander then iudged that hee had cleane escaped the perill that should haue chaunced to him that day, but (as I thinke) destiny cannot be auoyded: for whiles hee was eager to fight amongst the foremost, he was stricken with an arrow, which passed through his Corset, and did sticke in his shoulder. Philip his Whisition did plucke it out, and great abondance of bloud did follow, whereof enery man was afraide, for so much as they neuer sawe an Arrowe passe so farre through any Armour before. But hee neuer changed countenance nor colour, but causing the bloud to be stanchd, and his wound to be wrapt vp, continued still in the Skirmish amongst the foremost, eyther suffering or dissembling his paine and dolour. But when the bloud that was stayed for the time, burst out againe, and the wound which for the newnesse grieved him not much, began to swell and ranckle as the bloud waxed colde, then hee began to faint and fall downe, and was taken vp by such as were next him, and carried into his Tent. Betis that perceiued this, supposing him to be slaine, rettyed vnto the Cittie againe with

with great ioy and triumph: but Alexanders wound being yet vnehealed, hee caused a mount to be cast vp as high as the top of the walles, and the walles to be cast downe in diuers places by the myners. But they within made a countermure as high as the old wall: yet that could not stretch to the height of the Towers made vpon the Mount, so that the inner parts of the Cittie were subiect to shot. But a mine whereat the wall was ouerthrowne, & a breach made wherewith the Macedons did enter, was the vtter losse of the Towne, where as Alexander pressing on amongst the foremost aduenturously, had his leg hurt with a stone. What notwithstanding, hee mounted vp by helpe of his weapon (his former wound yet closed) and fought amongst the foremost, being in a great furie, that in the siege of that one Cittie, hee had receiued two wounds. Betis that had fought notably, and receiued diuers hurts, was forsaken of his owne men, and yet notwithstanding maintained still the fight, and al his armour imbued with his own bloud and his enemies. But when he was enclosed round about, then Alexander which was wont to wonder at the vertue of his enemies, puffed vp with a ioyfull pride, laid vnto him: Betis thou shalt not die as thou wouldest thy selfe, but whatsoeuer torments may be inuented, thinke y thou shalt

shalt suffer them. For all his words there
 peared in Betis no token of feare, but beheld
 the king with an arrogant countenance, and
 would not answer him one word: then Alexander
 said: see you not how obstinate hee is to
 hold his peace? he would not kneele, nor
 desire mercie. But groning shall breake his
 silence, if nothing else can doe it. Thus his
 fortune altering his nature, chaunged him in
 strange maners, and turned his wrath in
 woodnesse. For hee causing cords to be
 through Betis foete whilst hee was alieue,
 drew him about the cite with horses, glorying
 in that hee did counterfeit Achilles. (of whom
 hee was descended) in afflicting of his enemies.
 There were slaine of the Persians & Arabians
 10000. and the victorie was not vnblouded
 the Macedons. This siege was not so famous
 through the Nobilitie of the Cite, as it was
 the double danger the k. was in: which making
 haste to passe into Egypt, sent Amintas
 ten Gallies into Macedon to leuie more sol-
 diers. For though he were alwayes victo-
 rious in prosperous battailes, yet his men were di-
 minished, and hee trusted not so much to the sol-
 diers of those Countries he had subdued, as
 did to his own natiō. Egyptians be a people
 alwayes offended with the increase of
 fortune of the Persians, who in theyr gou-
 ernment

ment ouer them, vsed much pride and coue-
 tousnesse. And therefore seeking all occasions to
 revolt, had receiued Amintas which came to
 them, rather by way of treaty the by any force:
 and now specially at Alexanders comming
 plucked by their spirits and assembled a great
 number to meete him at Pelusium, where they
 iudged he would enter. The seuenth day he re-
 moued from Gaza, hee came to that place in
 Egypt, which now is called Alexanders
 Campe, from whence hee sent his Armie vnto
 Pelusium by the land way, and hee himselfe
 with a choise band of men was conueyed thi-
 ther vpon the Riuer of Nile. The Persians
 durst not abide his comming, being in doubt
 that the Egyptians would revolt. And there-
 fore when Alexander drew neare vnto Mem-
 phis, where Astaces, Darius Lieutenant was
 with a power of men of Warre, hee came ouer
 the riuer to meet Alexander, and yelded him-
 selfe, deliuered him eight hundred Talents,
 with all the riches belonging vnto the King of
 Persie. From Memphis hee passed vpon the
 same Riuer vnto the inward parts of Egypt,
 and set a stay and ordering in the gouernment
 of the Countrey, in such sort that hee chaunged
 nothing of their lawes and customes. Which
 thing once brought to passe, he had a great de-
 sire to visit the Oracle of Iupiter Hammon.

But it was declared vnto him, that the way he had to goe was not possible with any great number; and that those ought to bee trimmed, meete to iourney without baggage or much cartiage. The countrie he had to trauele through was said to be spread al ouer with barren sand, which once put in an heate with the Sunne, would burne their feet in such sort, that it should bee intolerable for them to iourney. And had to content not onely with the heat and want of water; but also with the rowling sand, which was so deepe, and would so sinke vnder their feete; that it should be great impediment vnto their trauell. All which difficulties the Egyptians set forth to bee greater then they were indeed. But Alexander for the desire he had to exceed mans estate, was so feruently bent to visit that famous Oracle of Iupiter, whom eyther he beleued, or coueted that other should beleue to bee his ffather, that nothing could stay him in performing of that enterpryse. Wherefore with such as he had appointed to accompany him in the iourney, passed by water vpon Nile till he came to the Mouth of Meeres. The Embassadors of the Cirenians came to him thither, and brought him presents, whom he gently entertained, assuring them of his friendship: and that done went forthward in his voyage. The first and the second dayes

trauell

trauell seemed tollerable, not being yet come to the barren and wild wilderness, and yet the ground they passed on was but vnfruitfull and dead earth. But when the plaines appeared that were couered ouer with deepe sand, they then looked and sought a far off with their eyes for the land, euen as men be accustomed to doe when they saile into the main sea: for they could not iudge themselves on land, where they neither saw tree nor any appearance of habitation, or haunt of men. And water there was none to be found in that drye & burning sand, & such as they had brought with them in bottles vpon Camels backs, was consumed and spent. Besides the Sunne was so hotte that it dyed and burned by all things. When they were afflicted after this manner, whether it were by the will of God, or by chance, the cloudes suddenly overwhelmed the skye, and so shadowed them, that it was great comfort to such as were so wearied with the heate; though they wanted water to drinke. But to supplie theyr lacke therein, there fell by & by a great shewre which every man (for the great desire they hadde to drinke) gaped to receiue with open mouth: when they had trauelled foure dayes in passing of these wild desarts, and were come neare vnto the place of the oracle, there appeared a great swarme of crows flying low befoze the troupe,

k 2

and

The fourth booke supplied
and when the Host marched softly, they sat
downe vpon the ground, and sometime flew
forwards, as they had bene guides to shewe
vnto the Army the way. At length they came
vnto the place consecrate vnto Iupiter, where
as it was a wonder to see in the midst of so wilde
a desert, such a ground so environed on all parts
with high rees, defending y^e heat of the sun, and
such a number of springs running euey wher,
which caused the woods alwaies to looke green.
The ayre there all seasons of the yeare is like
vnto the spring time, wholesome and temperate
to liue in. This countrey doth border with the
Ethiopes towards the East, & vpo the Arabians
that they call Troglodites vpon the South:
whose Countrey stretched to the red Sea. It
confreth with other Ethiopes that hee called
Simios. Towards the North lyeth a Nation
called Nasamons, who inhabiting vpon a
flat shore, bee accustomed to liue on the spoyle
of the Sea, and lye alwaies in waite vpon the
coast to spoyle such ships as suffer wacke: the
people which inhabit about the Wood, bee cal-
led Ammonians, and dwell in cottages scatter-
ed abroad. The middelt of their Wood closed
about with a triple wall, is vnto them as a Ca-
stle. In the first Ward is the Pallace of their
auntient kings: in the second, they^e Wines,
Childzen, & Concubines were ledged: in which
place

place the Oracle of Iupiter is also. And the
third is appointed a place for the men of war.
There is also an other wood, hauing in y^e midst
a spring called the Fountain of the Sun, which
in the morning is luke warme, in the heate
of the day it is cold, and in the euening warms
again: so that at midnight it is scalding hotte,
and as it draweth towards day, it diminisheth
his heate more and more. The same thing that
is worshipped for Iupiter, hath not the simili-
tude of other Images y^e Crafts men doe make
for Gods, but is very like vnto the fashion of
a naue, hauing in the midst an Emeraud set a-
bout with pearles. Whe any answer is requi-
red, the Priests carry the same in a ship of gold
that hath many plates of siluer hanging on both
sides. The Patrons and the Virgins follow
after, singing a rude song after they^e Countrey
manner, whereby they beleue to obtaine of Iu-
piter to shewe his Oracle manifest and true.
When Alexander was come vnto the place,
the eldest of the Priests which came to meete
him, saluted him by the name of Iupiters sonne:
for so (he said) his minde was that he should be
called. Wherevpon Alexander forgetting the
state of his mortalitie, said: that hee both did
receiue and acknowledge the name. When
hee demaunded further, if the Empire of the
whole world were appointed him by Destinie.

Where the Prophet prepared before to flatterie, answered: that y^e whole world should come vnder his obeysance. And after that he demanded whether all such had suffered death that murdered his father: The Priest answered that his father could not be harmed by the treason of any man, but hee said that all Philips killers were put to death. And one thing he added more: that hee should bee invincible till such time as hee should depart to the Goddess. Whereupon Alexander made sacrifice, and both offered vnto the Idoll, and gaue great gifts vnto the Priests. Hee licensed also his friends that they may consult of the Oracle, for such things as they would demand. Yet they enquired no further, but if it were Jupiters will, that they should worship theyr King with diuers honours. To them it was answered: that if they honoured their Prince being victor as a God, it should bee acceptable vnto Iupiter. If hee had with iudgement weighed the Oracle according to the verity, he should haue well perceiued the vntruth that was therein: but whom Fortune hath brought to beleue in her, she maketh them many times more desirous of glory, then able to receive it. Alexander not onely suffered, but also commanded himselfe to bee called the sonne of Iupiter: and whilst hee went about to encrease

the fame of his acts, hee did corrupt and deface them through such vaine tytles. Whereby the Macedons are accustomed to bee gouerned by Kings, but yet reseruing a greater shadow of libertie then other Nations, did withstand him more arrogantly in affecting of his immortality, then was either expedient for him or them: but these things shall bee declared in time convenient: For now I will proceed in the rest of his doing. When Alexander was returned from Hammon, and came to the marish of Marcotes, situate neare vnto the Ile of Pharos, he viewed the nature of the place, and was at the first determined to builde a Cittie within the Island. But afterwards considering the Ile not to bee large enough, chose out the ground where Alexandria is now (called by the name of the builder) containing all that ground betwene the Reare and the Sea, the which was in compasse as the Walles went 80. furlongs. When he had taken order for building of this Citie, leaving such behind him as he had appointed for y^e performance thereof, departed vnto Memphis. He had a desire (not vnreasonable if it had bin in time convenient) to haue visited both the inward parts of Egypt, and also Ethiopia. And y^e affectio he had to view antiquities, and the famous places of Memnon and Tyton, had neare draue him beyond the

bounds of the Sun. But the wars he hēe had
hand bēeing of much moze moment then any
such idle peregrination, gaue him no time
fulfill his phantasie: therfore he appointed An-
tilus a Rhodian, & Peucestes a Macedon to the
gouernance of Egypt, assigning to them 4000
souldiers for defence of y^e religion, & gaue Po-
lymen 30. Gallies to keepe the mouth of Nile.
Hēe made Apollonius Ruler of that part of
Affrike which ioyneth vnto Egypt, and Cleo-
mines receiuer of the Tributes in both Coun-
tries. This new Cittie was sone replenished
with a great multitude, for commaundement
was giuen to all the Citties thereabouts, to
send inhabitors vnto Alexādia. It is said that
when the King according to the Macedon
custome, vsed the ceremonie of sleeping Bar-
ley at the making of the walles, that the birds
came and fed thereupon: which bēeing taken
of many for an vnluckie token, it was answer-
ed by they^r Diuiners, that there should be
great resort of strangers in the Cittie, and that
it should giue nourishment to many Landes.
As the King went downe the River of Nile,
Hector Parmenio his Sonne, desirous to
follow him, was drowned: for the vessel
sunke that carried him, bēeing pestered with
ouer many men: he strived long with y^e stream,
but his garments gaue impediment to his
swim

swimming, so that his breath was neare gone
before he could recover y^e shore, where for want
of succour he died. Whose vnforsunate chance
Alexander tooke grieuouly, as one y^e did beare
him speciall fauour, and therfore caused his bo-
dy to be honourably buried. The death of An-
dromachus Lieutenant of Syrio, whom the
Samaritans had burned, was encrease of A-
lexanders sorrow, for the reuengement where-
of hēe made all the haste hēe might, and at his
comming into Samaria, had the authours of
the act deliuered into his hands, whom hēe put
to death, and then placed Memnon in An-
dromachus roome. Hēe deliuered into the
Bethinians hands, Aristonicus and Criso-
laus, that had vsurped amongst them, whom
they after many grieuous torments did hang
ouer their walles. What done he gaue audience
to the Embassadors of the Athenians, the
Rhodians, and the Sciotes. The Athenians
did gratifie vnto him his victorie, and required
that such Grækes as were taken prisoners,
might be restored to libertie. The Rhodians
and the Sciots demaunded assistance of some
Garrison: hēe graunted to them all they^r re-
quests, and restoring to the Mitelens all they^r
pledges, encreased their territory and Domi-
nion in respect of the fidelitie they shewed vnto
him, and the money they had employed in
the

the warres. Hee gaue honour also according to their desertings vnto the Kings of Cyprus which reuolted from Darius vnto him, and he ayded him with shippes at the siege of Tyre. Amphoterus his Admirall had commission to drise the Persians out of the Ile of Crete, but specially that hee should rid the Seas of the Pyrates, which troubled and spoyled all the Islands, whilst these two Princes conuerted their powers one against an other. When he had giuen order to all things, hee did dedicate to Hercules at Tyre, a great standing peece and thirtie bowles of Golde. That done hee left his whole minde and care vpon Darius, causing it to be proclaimed, that euery man should set forth towards Euphrates. But Darius vnderstanding that his enemy was gone through Egypt into Affrike, stood in doubt whether hee should stay about Melopotamia, or withdraw into the inward parts of his kingdom: iudging that hee should be able to cope with those farre Nations in bringing of them forth towards to the warres, y^e which his lieftenant should not be able to doe. Yet when the fame had published, and hee vnderstood by assured aduertisement that Alexander was returned out of Egypt, and fully resolved to follow him with all his power into what Countrey he should goe, he then gaue order that the

force of all the farre Nations should drawe towards Babilon, knowing the stoutnesse of his enemy he had to match withall. Whither resorted both Bactrians, Scythians, and Indians: for the power of other Countreys were come thither before. And hauing the double number of men that hee hadde before in Cilicia, prepared Armour for them with diligence, whereof many of them had want. Both the Horsemen and Horses were Armed with plates of Steele. Such as before had no weapons but Darts, had swords and bucklers giuen to them more. And to encrease the power of his Horsemen, hee deliuered many horses to be broken against the footemen. Hee had prepared also 200. waggons set with hookes, which in those Countreys were esteemed thinges of great force, and iudged to bee of a wonderfull terrour to the enemy: they were made with great long pikes sticking out before, and with swordes set ouerthwart on both sides. The wheeles were also full of Iron Pikes right forth, and of great hookes both vprward and downward, wherewith all things was cut a sun-der that came in theyr way. When his people were thus furnished of Armour, and had provided sufficiently for the warres, hee removed from Babilon, and keeping the riuer of Tygre on his right hand, and Euphrates on his left hand,

hand, ouer spread with his Army all the plaine
of Mesopotamia. After that he passed Tygre,
and vnderstanding that his enemy was com-
ming at hand, first sent Satropaces before with
a thousand chosen horsemen, and afterwards
appointed 6000. to Marzeus to stop Alexan-
der the passage of the Riuer. Who had also
commission to waste and burne all the Coun-
trei where he iudged that his enemies should
come, thinking to famish them for want of vi-
tuals, considering that they had no other pro-
uision but such as they got by rauening and by
stealth: they themselves hauing plenty brought
both by land and by the Riuer of Tygre. At
length he came to a Village called Arbella,
which was afterwards famous by reason of
his overthrow. There he left the chiefe sur-
e of his victuals and carriage, and made
a bridge ouer the Riuer of Licus, and in few
daies conueyed ouer his Army, as he had done
before ouer Euphrates, passing forwards from
thence about foure score furlongs: he came
to an other Citie called Boumello, and there
encamped. The Countrey serued wonderful
well for the arraunging of his battailes in the
large plaines, passeable for horses euery where
and without stubbes, or short bush to cover
the ground withall, hauing so free a pros-
pect, that the Eye might discerne things
a great

great way off. And if there appeared any
hills within the Plaine, Darius cau-
sed the same to be cast downe, and the ground
to be made smooth. Such as by coniecture
made report to Alexander of Darius power,
could not be credited, for he could not thinke
after so many slaine, there could be a greater
power gathered together then he had before.
But he that neuer doubted any perill, and
much lesse the multitude of men, after the ele-
uenth encamping, came to the Riuer of Eu-
phrates, ouer the which he made bridges, pas-
sing ouer his horsemen, and afterwards his
footemen. For Mazeus that was sent against
him with sixe thousand horsemen to let his pas-
sage durst not encounter with him. When he
had continued there a fewe dayes, not onely to
rest his souldiers, but also to confirme their
mindes, and to encourage them, he set for-
wards stoutly against his enemy, fearing that
they would haue retired backe into the inward
parts of Persie, whither he should haue bene
enforced to follow by waste places and desarts.
Therefore the fourth day he passed by Arbel-
la, and came to the Riuer of Tygre. All the
countrey beyond the riuer was on a smoke,
newly set on fire by Mazeus, who burned all
things where he came euery as he had bene
an enemy. Alexander at the first by reason
of

of the darknesse of the smoake, stayed for some
of ambushments. But when they which were
sent to scowre the Countrey, reported that all
things were cleare, he appointed a fewe horse-
men to p[ro]ue the passage of the Riuer, who
found the deepenesse at the first entrie to come
to the horse breast, and in the middell of the
streame to the horse neckes. There is no Riuer
in all the East part of the World that runneth
so violently, which besides the waters of other
Riuers that do runne into it, driueth down
stones with the streame, so that of his swif-
tnesse it is called Tygre, which in the Persian
Tongue is so much to say as an Arrow. The
footemen therefore deuided into two bandes,
holding their Armour ouer their heads, were
enclosed on both sides with the horsemen, and
so passed till they came in the deepe of the Ch-
nell, without any great difficultie. The King
was the first amongst the footemen that passed
ouer to the further side, who with his hand
(seeing his voyce could not be heard) shewed
the shallow places vnto the Souldiers. But
they had much paine to keepe theyr footing by
reason of stones wherupon they stumbled, and
of the violence of the Water that toke theyr
feete away. Such as carried burthens on their
backes had the greatest trauel, which not being
able to stay themselves by reason of the trouble

of their carriage, were borne down by violence
of the streame. And whilst every man went a-
bout to recouer again his owne, there fell grea-
ter strife amongst themselves, then they had
with the streame. And the heaps of fardels that
floted euery where vpon the water, bare downe
many. The King cryed to them that it was
sufficient to keepe their Armour and let the rest
goe, promising to recompence euery man: but
they neither followed his counsell, nor did as
he commaunded them. For besides the noise
that was amongst them, feare filled theyr
eares as they were swimming and wading
through the water. At length where the stream
was most shallow they came forth, there bee-
ing nothing miscarried or wanting amongst
them all, saving a fewe fardels. If their ene-
mies had made but a p[ro]fer against them, they
might easily haue bene put to distresse. But A-
lexanders continuall good Fortune turned
their enemies away from him, with which
fortune he passed the Riuer of Granike, when
so many thousands both of horsemen and foot-
men kept the passage against him. After that
he had ouercame the multitude of his ene-
mies in the streates of Cilicia. Though his
boldnesse were such, that it sometime wanted
praise, yet his felicitie euer deliuered him out
of all extreme perill. If Mazcus had done
his

his part, and set vpon them as they were
sing the Riuer, he might easily haue put them
to distresse, being vnarmed and out of order:
after the Macedons had armed themselves (be-
ing then too late) he began to shew himself
a D. of horsemen. When Alexander perceiued
the small number that came against him, he
caused Ariston Captaine of the Peonians
to giue a full charge vpon them. The horse-
men that day notably behaued themselves, and
especially Ariston, which with his speare ran
Satropases the chiefe Captaine through the
throate, and pursuing him in the midst of his
troupe, threw him from his horse, and cut
his head, which to his great commendation
he brought and threw downe before the King.
Alexander tarried there 2. dayes, and againe
the morning caused warning to bee giuen by
proclamation for his setting forward. In
the first watch of the night, the Moone
suffered Eclipse, which losing her brightnesse,
forwards became as redde as blood, and
therewith waxed dimme and darke. The
straungenesse of this matter did strike a reli-
gious feare amongst the Macedons, whom
of proceeded such a doubt and dread, that they
fell into a murmur and grudging, that they
shoulde bee brought forwardes after such
maner against the wil of the Gods, into the

term

termost bounds of the earth, whereas they were
not able to passe the riuers, nor could not enioy
the accustomed vse of the elements, finding no-
thing but waste grounds and wilde delarts: all
which was done (they said) for the ambition of
one man, for whose vain glozy & bloud of so ma-
ny thousands shoulde be shed. He dispiseth (qu.
they) his Countrey, hee hath forsaken Phillip
for his father, and affected heauen in his foolish
imagination. When Alexander perceiued
the matter to come to a muttering, hee that in
all things was without feare, commaunded
the chiefe Rulers and Captaines of his men of
warre to assemble at his Pavilion, and there
commaunded the Astronomers of the Egyp-
tians (whom hee iudged to haue most under-
standing of the Planets) to declare their opi-
nions. They vnderstanding very wel the reuol-
utions of the time, and they appointed courses,
knew that the moone did euer eclipse when
that eyther she went vnderneath the earth, or
else when her light was blemished by opposi-
tion of the Sunne, which reason conceived a-
mongst themselves, they accustomed not to
teach the people. But affirmed & the Graekes
were vnder the respect of the Sunne, and the
Persians vnder the Moone: and therefore so
often as the Moone faileth of her light, it sig-
nified great destruction to the Nations vnder

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that

that constellation. And to confirme that opinion of theirs, they brought in old presidents of the Kings of Persie, to whom the Eclipse of the Moone had signified, that the Gods were against them in fighting of theyr Battailles. There is nothing more effectuell then superstition to gouerne a multitude, which otherwise is without rule, in adde, and mutable: but when they haue once conceived a Religion, though it be but vain, they be more obedient to theyr Diuiners, then to theyr Captaines. Which thing might be well perceived, when the answeres of the Egyptians were spread abroad amongst the people. For they straightwaies were remoued from their dulnesse and pair, and stirred vp to hope & confidence. Alexander therefore that could vse the time and employ his Souldiers in their good mode: at the second watch remoued his Campe, keeping Tygre on his right hand, and the Mountain which they call Gordeies on his left hand. At the spring of the day the scowlers that he sent before to discover, returned to him with report that Darius was comming. When the Souldiers prepared themselves to the fight and marched forwards in order of battel. Those that discovered for the Persians, were but a thousand horsemen, which keeping their scout a farre off, seemed to the Macedons

be a great Army. The scowlers commonly haue that propertie, that when they cannot finde out the truth, they imagine through feare things that be false. When Alexander understood the certaintie, he sent out towards them a small number of his owne horsemen: at whose coming they fled, and were partly slaine, and partly taken prisoners. That done, he sent horsemen as well to discover further, as also to quench the fire which the Persians had made through all the Countrey. For as they fled away, they put fire into the rofes of their houses, and the stacks of Corne, which soone took hold aboue, and consumed all till it came to the ground. By the extinguishing of those fires, great plenty of Corne was founde, and abundance of all other things ensued amongst the Macedons. That was a matter which encouraged the Souldiers greatly to pursue theyr enemies. For they doubting least they should burne and consume all such things as might serue to theyr vse: pursued them with all the speed they could make: wise come growing of necessitie. For Mazeus which before did burne the countrey at leisure, when he saw himselfe pursued, fled away, and left vnto the Macedons the more part vntouched. Alexander vnderstanding that Darius was towards him, and was come

within an hundred and fiftie furlongs, made provision of victuals, and remained foure daies in the same place. Darius Letters were then intercepted, which hee hadde witten to the Grekes, in perswasion either to kill or betray Alexander. He doubted whether hee should recyte the same Letters openly or no, having no mistrust of their benivolence and affection towards him. But Parmenio dissuaded the putting of any such promises into the soldiers heads, considering that the committing of such an acte, consisted in one mans hand, and that couetousnesse iudged neuer any thing unlawfull. Hee followed Parmenio his counsell, and so removed his Campe. As they were marching, one of the Eunuches that attended vpon Darius wife brought word how shee fainted, and was in great perill of death. For shee in very deepe was so wearied with continuall trauell of her iourney, and care of her kinde, that shee fell downe in a swoone, which twirt her mother in law, and her young daughter, & so dyed. He had not so soone tolde the tale, but an other came with tydings that shee was dead indeed: Whereat Alexander was lesse sorrowfull then if his owne mother had bene in the same case, and weeping no lesse then Darius should haue done, repaying into the tent where Darius mother was sitting by

dead

dead body: there his sorrow renned when he saw her lye prostrate vpon the ground: who by the chaunce that presently fell, being put in remembrance of her aduersitie by-past, embraced in his armes Darius two daughters, a comfort to her in their mutuall colour, but that she was enforced to comfort them. Her young nephew stood in her presence, the more to be pittied, because that for his youth, he yet vnderstood not the calamitie that was growing towards him. A man would haue iudged that Alexander had wept for his owne cause, which lamented and would receiue no comfort, but abstained from meate, and reserved all honour to be done to the dead corps after the Countrey custome of the Persians. Worthy hee was thereby to receiue the due reward of such his meekenes and continencie. Hee had onely seene her once before, which was the day of her taking, and then came not to visit her, but Darius mother. The excellencie of her beautie was no prouokement to him of lust, but of dole. Of those Eunuches that were about the Quene, there was one Tyriotes, which during this mourning and lamentation, escaped by a gate that was unwarded, and fled into the Persians Campe, where he was by the Watchmen brought to Darius presence. When Darius sawe him lamenting and tear-

ring of his cloathes, he was in a wonderfull expectation what his sorow should be, doubting what thing he might feare most. Why countenance (quoth hee) declareth that some great mischief is happened. Take heed thou concealest nothing from my miserable eares: I haue learned to be vnfortunate, and it is oftentimes a comfort of a mans calamitie to know his mishap. Is it not the mistaking my wife and children that thou wouldest tell me: which is the thing that I suspect most and feare to utter, and (as I beleeue) is most grievous vnto them. Nothing lesse (quoth Tyriotes) the same honour that was giuen to them by your subiects, the like is vied by that is victor. But your wife is the cause of my amazement, which is euen now dead. When that word was once spoken, there was nothing but lamentation & howling throughout the Campe. And Darius could not be therwise perswaded, but that shee was slain because she would not consent to her misement: and in the vehemencie of his sorow tried out.

O Alexander, what so great an offence haue I committed against thee? whom of thy kindred haue I slaine, that thou shouldest requite me with crueltie? Thou hast done it without any prouokement of my part. But be

that thou doost moue a iust warre against me, yet, is it thy part therefore to keepe warre with women?

Tyriotes therevppon did sweare by the Gods immortall, that there was no kinde of villany done vnto her, but that Alexander lamented her death, and wept no lesse then hee himselfe would haue done. These words did drive him into a further suspicion and ialousie, coniecturing that Alexanders behaviour therein had risen vpon the familiar conversation had betwixt them. Therefore hee auoyding all persons from him, saving onely Tyriotes, and left his weeping, but yet sobbing for sorow, said vnto him. Thou seest now Tyriotes, that lyes can take no place, Torments straightwayes shall bee brought before thee. I require thee therefore if any reuerence of thy Prince remain within thy hart, tell mee without compulsion the thing that I desire to know, and am ashamed to enquire. As it possible beeing of the age that hee is, and hauing her in his hands, that hee should not attempt her? Tyriotes offered himselfe to be racked in triall of the cause: and called the gods to witnesse, that she was neuer vied but chastly and reuerently. At length when he was once perswaded that his words were true, hee covered his face, weeping a long space, and afterwards

forwards the teares yet distilling downe
cheeres, uncoverd his face, and holding up
hans to heauen said:

O you Gods that I doo worship, I requi
you chiefly to establish this Kingdome v
my selfe: but if yee haue determined my
ine and decay, then my request is, that no
may raigne as King in my Dominion, but
uen he that is so iust an enemy, and so mer
full a victorer.

And therefore, though he had twise before
required peace at Alexander his hands, and
preuailed not, but had conuerted all his minde
toward the wars, yet he was then so ouercom
with the continencie of his enemy, that he
ten of the chiefest of his blood as Ambassadors
to treat with him vpon conditions of peace.
Alexander calling a Councell, gaue them
sence, to whom the eldest spake in this wise.

That *Darius* hath now the third time de
maunded peace of you, no power hath com
pelled him, but your iustice and continencie
hath moued him. He should not perceiue
that either his mother, wife, or children were
prisoners, sauing for want of their company
you taking care of their chastities which
main aliue, like a father. You giue to them
honour appertaining, and suffer them to con
tinue in their former estate. I see that do

rounesse

rounesse in your face, that I saw in *Darius*
when I parted from him, and yet hee dooth
mourne for his wife, and you for your enemy.
And if the care of her burial had not bin, you
had now stood in battle in readines to fight. Is
it any maruel therefore if he require peace of
such one, that is so friendly disposed towards
him? What shall they need to contend with
armes, betweene whom there remaineth no
hatred? In his former treatise he offered that
the Riuer of *Alis* which boundeth vpon *Ly-*
dia should bee the confines of your Empire:
but now hee profereth you in dower with his
daughter to be deliuered out of hand, al those
countries that lye betweene *Hellespont* and
Euphrates. For the performance of which his
promise, and for the obseruing of peace, *Oc-*
chus his sonne, now in your possession shal be
the pledge for his part. His request is to haue
his mother and his two daughters restored
vnto him, for which three you shal receiue 30.
thousand talents. Except I knew the modera
tion that is in you, I would not be so bold to
say that this is a time whē you ought not on-
ly to grant peace, but also to seeke for it your
selfe. Looke backe and behold what a great
thing you leaue behinde you, and foresee
how much it is that you couet before you.
Ouer great an Empire is dangerous. And

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it is hard to hold that you bee not able to receive. Do you not see that those ships which be of exceeding greatnesse, that they cannot well be governed? Iudge that to be the cause that *Darius* lost so much, because that ouermuch is the occasion of much losse. It is more facill to get many things then to keepe a few. How much more easily do our hands catch then hold still? The very death of *Darius* wife now doth shewe, that you haue not so great occasion to shewe mercie as you had before.

The Embassadors were remooued vnto another place, and hee debated in counsell his opinion. It was long before any durst utter what they thought, because they were vncertaine how the King was enclined. At length *Parmenio* spake, and said:

My opinion was euer that the prisoners taken at *Damasco* should haue bene deliuered to such as would redeeme them, whereby a great summe of money might haue bin made of them, which now remaining in captiuitie, pester the handes of many a man of seruice. And now I thinke most necessaric of all, that you exchange for 30. Talents of Gold, this old woman, and the two young Damzels, which bee but impediments and disturbance to you in your iournies. Here is a rich Reale

to bee gotten by treatie without any hazard of battaile. For there was neuer none before you (quoth he) that was Lord of all the country in length and breadth lying betweene *Tisfor* and *Euphrates*. He willed him therefore rather to haue respect towards *Macedonia*, then to looke forward towards *Bactria* and the Indians.

His words liked not the King, and therefore so soone as *Parmenio* had made an end of his tale, he made this answer.

And if I were *Parmenio*, I would rather desire mony then glory. But now seeing I am *Alexander*, I am not in any doubt of pouertie, and haue consideration that I am a king, and no Marchant. I haue nothing whereof I will make sale, and much lesse sell my fortune. If I were in minde to deliuer the prisoners, it were much better to giue them freely, then to rancome them for money.

Whereupon he called in the Embassadors, and answered them in this sort.

Shewe you to *Darius*, that giuing of thanks is but waste, to a mans enemy, and let him not thinke that I haue had any respect to his friendship in those things that I haue done of mine owne clemencie, and liberalitie. Nor let him not impute the same in any wise towards himselfe, but to the inclination of

of mine owne nature, and that I contend not against mens calamities, but against the force of mine enemies. I vse not to make war with women and prisoners, for he must be armed, to whom I shal shew my hatred. And though it were so indeed, that he ment good faith in his peace asking, yet peradventure I would aduise me before I would consent. But seeing that at sometime hee hath by his Letters prouoked my souldiers to betray mee, and at other times stirred vp my friends with monie to my destructiō, I must pursue him to the vtermost: not as a righteous enemy, but as one that worketh his things by treason. If I should accept the condition of peace that you doo bring, I should acknowledge him to be victor, which liberally doth giue me all that is behinde the Riuer of *Euphrates*, not considering in what place I speake now vnto you. Haue you forgotten that I am passed the Riuer of *Euphrates*, and incamped beyond the bounds yee profer me in Dowry? drive mee from hence, that I may know the same to be yours, wherewith yee would enfeoffe mee. He profereth me his daughter with no greater libertie then he would do to one of his seruants. Dooth hee thinke to doo me a pleasure in preferring mee to bee his sonne in lawe before *Mazus*? Goe and shewe this

this to your King, that both the thing hee hath lost, and that hee hath yet in possession, shall bee vnto mee rewardes of the warre, which Warre shall discusse the boundes of both our Empires, and by the fortune of the Battaille wee shall fight to morrowe, appoint to each of vs our limits. Let him know that I came not into *Asia* to receiue, but to giue. If he would haue bene content to be second person, and not coueted to bee equall with mee, I would peradventure haue graunted his request. But as two Sunnes cannot shine on the earth at once, so likewise two such great Kingdomes cannot bee at one time, without the subuersion of the world. Therefore let him eyther this day yeeld himselfe, or else prepare against the morrowes fight, nor let him not perswade himselfe to haue any other fortune then hee hath proued already.

The Embassadors replied: that seeing hee was resolved to proceed with warre, hee did loyally in that hee was plaine, and did not feed them forth with hope of peace. Their request was therefore that they might bee dispatched to their Prince, to warne him to prepare himselfe likewise. When they returned they brought word that there was no way, but to prepare for the fight. Wherefore Darius sent Mazus out

out of hand with three thousand horsemen to keepe the passages, whereby the Macedons should passe. When Alexander had performed the funerals of Darius wife, leauing with a small Garrison all such as were vnprofitable for the fight, within the strength of his Campe, set forwards towards his enemies. His footmen were deuided into two Battailles, empaled with horsemen on both sides, and his carriage went in the middell. He sent Medipus with horsemen vpon the spurs to discover, where hauing also fiftie hooked Waggones, placed a band of Caspian Horsemen before them, and behinde them, the Indians, and other the inhabitants of the red Sea, rather names of men then good assistance. This square was empaled with fiftie Waggones, vnto the which the Mercenary souldiers were ioyned; after them followed the men of Armenie the lesse, then the Babilonians, and next the Bellicans, with such as inhabit the Collean Mountaines. The Goxtuans came next, which sometime followed the Medians out of Euboia: but at those dayes degenerated from their Countrey, and stomes. The Phrygians, Carthians, and Persians enclosed the taylor. This was the whole taile on the left hand. In the Battaille on the right hand, were the people of the greater Armenie, the Cadusians, Cappadocians, Syria

and,

ans, and Medians, who had fiftie hooked waggones. The summe of his whole Army was 45. thousand horsemen, and 200. thousand footmen. When they were placed in order of battel, they marched forward ten furlongs, and then were commaunded to stay. Whilest the Persians after that manner tarried for their enemies, there fell a sudden feare amongst the Macedons, whereof there appeared no cause, and yet euery man was amazed, and a secret dread entred into their hearts. The lightning that fell out of the ayre being in the Sommer season, seemed like fire, and the flames suddenly appearing, were thought to come from Darius Campe. If Mazeus which was sent to obserue their comming, had set vpon them whilest they were in this feare, he might haue done them some notable damage. But he was slacke to doo his enterprise, and remained vpon the top of an hill, contented that he was not assailed. Alexander perceiuing the terrour that was come amongst his men, made a signe for them to stay, and gaue order that they should vnarme themselves, and refresh theyr bodies, giuing them to vnderstand, that there was not any cause why they should so suddenly conceiue a feare, seeing their enemies were yet a good distance from them. At length when he perceiued they had recovered theyr spirits,

spirites, hee exhorted them both to receiue courage, and to put on their Armour. But yet he thought nothing moze expedient for the case present, then to fortifie his Campe in the same place. The next day Mazeus which had planted himselfe on a high hill, fro whence he might behold his enemies Campe, either for feare, or else because his commission was but onely to discover, returned againe vnto Darius. Upon his departure the Macedons by and by toke the hill which hee had forsaken, the same being of moze strength then the plaine where they remained before, from whence they might behold theyr enemies Campe. And though it might which the mouie hilles did cast forth, toke not away clearely the vse of the prospect, yet it led them to discerne the diuision of their enemies battailes, and their order, the multitude of whom ouerspread the fields, and the noise of such a number filled theyr eares, though they were farre off. When Alexander began to reuolue in his head, and debate with himselfe, one while Parmenios opinion, and an other time his owne. For hee was come so farre forth that hee could not retire except hee were hindered, without the great destruction of his Army. The multitude of his enemies moued him much in respect of his small number. But the other part hee remembred what great

he had done with them, and how many Passions he had vanquished. So that hope surmounting his feare, hee thought it most daunger of all to deferre the battaile any longer, least desperation might grow amongst his men, and therefore dissembling the matter, hee caused the mercenarie horsemen and the Beons to passe on before, and deuided his Phalanx (as it hath bin said before) into 2. battails, and empaled the same with horsemen on both sides. By that time the mist auoyded, and it began to waxe cleare, the order of their enemies appearing manifestly. The Macedons then, whether it were of courage, or for that they were impatient to tarry any longer, made such a shout as men of warre vse when they ioyne in battaile: the like was also made by the Persians. When the Woods and Valleys round about redounded with the terrible sound. The Macedons could not abstaine any longer, but would haue gone forward towards their enemies. But Alexander thought it better to fortifie his Campe upon that hill, and so commaunded it to be entrenched about. Which worke being speedily performed, hee entred into his Tent, from whence hee might behold the whole Army of his enemies Host. When the whole fashion and forme of the daunger that was at hand, was presented before his eyes: both horsemen and

footemen glittered in their bright Armour, and all things were prepared with great diligence. He beheld the care of the Captaines in his enemies Campe, how they did ride up and downe to set things in order. And diuers things which were but vaine indeede (as the noyse of men, the neyng of horses, and the glittering of theyr Armour) troubled yet the minde that was carefull in the expectation of the matter. Wherefore whether it were that he was not fully resolved in his minde, or else to proue the minds of such as were about him, he called his friends to consult what was best to do. Parmenio that was the most expert man among all the Captaines in the seats of warre. Hee thought good not to giue his enemies plaine battaile, but rather to set vpon them in the dead time of the night, whereby hee thought they might easily bee discomfited, supposing that they among whom there was so great diuersitie of customes, and alteration of language, could neuer assemble well together, specially when they should be put suddenly in feare in the night time being a sleep, whereas in the day time, the shape of the Scythians and Bactrians, with their rough faces and long haire, beside the hugeness of their bodies, should appeare terrible. And argued how souldiers were more moued with the

vaine causes of feare, and such as were of no moment, then with such as were iust causes indeed. Hee declared also how their enemies by reason of their great multitude, should be able to enclose their small number round about: and that they should not now fight in the straights and narrow passages of Cilicia, but in an open and large plaine.

They all in manner agreed to Parmenio his saying: and Policarpon was of a plaine opinion, that the victorie consisted in the point which hee had deuised. The King that before had taunted Parmenio more bitterly then hee thought good, would not checke him againe, but beheld Policarpon, and said:

That policie that you aduise mee, pertaineth to stealers and theeves: for it is their propertie to worke by sleights and deceit, I wil no more suffer that either *Darius* absence, the straightnesse of the ground, or the stealth in the night, shall bee an hinderance to my glory. I am plainly determined to haue to do with him in the open day, and had rather repent me of my fortune, then be ashamed of my victory. Besides, this is to be considered, that the Persians keep good watch: & stand armed alwaies in a readinesse to receiue vs, whereof I haue aduertisement, so that they

cannot be deceiued that way: therefore there doth remaine no more, but that you prepare your selues to the battaile.

When hee had by these words put them in a courage, hee dismissed them from counsell, to refresh their bodies, Darius coniecturing that his enemies would haue done the same thing that Parmenio did perswade, caused the horses to stand readie bridled the whole night, and the most part of his Host to continue armed, and keepe good watch. His Camp shone bright with the fires that were made, and he himselfe with his Captaines and kinsfolkes went about his battailes that stood in order and in armes, making inuocation to the Sunne, to Mars, and to the euerlasting fire, & they would inspire vnto them a fortitude of minde, that might answer to the auncient glory and acts of his predecessors. And shewed if the mind of man were able to conceiue any tokens or signes of the Goddes fauour or assistance, it was no doubt but that they were bent on their side, having alreadye stricken a sudden feare amongst the Macedons: which (hee saide) might be scene by theyr running heere and there, by the carrying and casting of theyr Armour. And that the Goddes which tooke care of the Persians Empire, were now determined to punish those Cowardes: Whose Cap

taine

aine (quoth hee) being of no other sort then the rest, were like vnto those wilde beasts, which through greedinesse of the pray that they doe couet, fall into the snares that he set for them.

The like care was amongst the Macedons. For as though the matter should haue bin tried that night, they passed it ouer in doubt and fear. Alexander himself (that was neuer scene in such feare before that time) called for Aristander to make bolwes and prayers: who in a white garment, carrying Verbenes in his hand, with his head couered, went before the king, calling vpon Iupiter, Minerva, and Victoria. When hee had thus performed his sacrifice, according to their Religion, he returned into his Pavilion to rest the residue of the night. Yet he could neither rest nor sleepe, but continually debated with himselfe which way he should assaile his enemies. One while hee was of opinion to giue his first onset vpon that battaile of the Persians that should come on his right hand: sometime he determined to meete his enemies in the very front, and otherwhile was in doubt whether it were better to set first on their left battaile. At length his body became heauie with trauel of his minde, and fell into a sound sleepe. When the day appeared, the Captains assembled about him

Paulion, to receiue their charge, where they stood amazed with greater silence then they were accustomed. For they could not but wonder that Alexander, who was euer wont to call vpon other men, and to reprove such as were slowe or negligent, not to bee then sleeping, when the matter was come to the point of the extreame danger. And many were of opinion that he slept not, but shynke for feare: for all that, none of them that were about him person durst attempt to wake him. In this meane season the time past away, and the soldiers might neither put on theyr Armour, nor goe in order of battaile, without commaundment of their head. When they had thus tarried a good while, Parmenio gaue commaundement that they should fall to meat. At length when the time came that of necessity they must set their Battels, he entred into the kings lodging, and called vpon him diuers times by his name: but when he could not awake him with his voyce, hee stirred him with his hand, & said

It is farre-forth day (quoth he) and your enemies come forwards in order of battaile, and your souldiers being yet vnarmed, haue no commaundement giuen them what they shall doo. Where is that chearfulnesse and courage of yours become, which were wont to stirre vp other men?

Alexander

Alexander made answer vnto him: Thinke you that I could sleepe before that I had rid my selfe of the care that letteth me to take my rest? and therevpon caused the Trumpets to sound to the battel. But when Parmenio continued still in admiration, that he in such a time could sleepe so quietly; It is no maruell (quoth Alexander) when Darius burned the countrey, wasted the villages, and destroyed the victuals, I could then in no wise be quiet. But now what cause haue I of feare, seeing he prepareth himselfe to fight? He hath now fulfilled my desire: resort you where your charge lyeth, and I will straightwaies come to giue order amongst you, and reason this matter afterwards.

Hee vsed seldome to take his friends aduice when any doubt or danger was at hand. When Parmenio was gone, he armed himselfe, and came forwards amongst his souldiers. They seeing him looke so chearefully as they hadde not done befoze time, conceiued by the boldnesse of his countenance a certaine hope of the victorie. When he caused the Trenches of his Campe to be cast downe, that the Souldiers might haue free passage forth, and so did set his Battailles in order. The horsemen which they call Agenia, of whom Cleus was Captaine, were set in the wing of his right hand battaile,

battaile, to whom he ioyned Philotas and
ther Captaines. The last band of Horsemen
was Meleagers, which went next unto the
square battaile of footemen that the Macedonians
name Phalanx. After the Phalanx followed
the Argiraspidēs, of whom Nicanor the sonne
of Parmenio was Captaine. Cenos with his
band was appointed to be a reliefe: Horellus
and Lyncesta came next in order, and after
them Polycarpon that had the rule of the
straungers, and Phylagus which had the rule
of the Balacrons. And this was the order
of Alexanders battaile in the right ward, where
of Amintas was chiefe. In the left battaile
Craterus had the charge of the Peloponnesians
Horsemen, and with him also the bands of the
Achevians, Locrensiens, and Goleanensiens
and the last troupes were the Horsemen of
Thessaly, vnder Philip theyr Captaine. When
the horsemen covering the footemen, made
the front of the left battaile. And lest their ene-
mies through their multitude should enclose
the battaile about, hee planted a great force
behinde for the reliefe of that matter, and set
reliefe also vpon the wings, not in front with
the rest, but vpon the sides, to the intent that
if the enemies attempted to compass about
the Battailles, that they should be ready to
keepe them downe. Those that did occupy

the places of reliefe were the Agrians, of whom
Arralus was Captaine, and the Archers of
Crete ioyned vnto them. Such as stood in
the hinder parts of the Battailles, were or-
dered to turne theyr faces from the front-
wards, because that being in a readines euery
way, the Battailles in euery place should be
of like force. They which stood with theyr
faces contrariwise, were the Ilirians, and
the mercenarie souldiers, with the Thracians
that were light harnessed. These his bat-
tailes were set so aptly to be turned euery way,
that such as stood in the hinder partes could
not be enclosed about, but might towards
each part make theyr front: so the front,
the flanks, and the hinder partes were all
of like force. When hee had set his men in
order after this manner, hee gaue commaun-
dement, that if the Persians should put for-
wardes vpon them theyr hooked Waggones,
with a crye or noyse, that then they should o-
pen theyr battailles, and receiue them with
silence, not doubting but that they should
passe through without harme doing, if no
man did resist them. But if they should come
without any shoute or clamour, that then
they themselues should make a crye to feare
the Horse withall, and so with Pikes thrust
them in on euery side. They which hadde
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the charge of the Battailles, were commaunded to extend them so much in breadth as they might, least by standing over-cloze, they might bee environed; and yet not to stretch them so farre out, to leaue the places boyd and thinne in the middest. The carriage and the Prisoners (amongst whome Darius mother was) were set in the toppe of an hill, with a small gard about them. The charge of the left Battaille was committed vnto Parmenio, as was accustomed before time, and Alexander himselfe was in the other. When they were come neare together, one Byon came flying from the Persian host in all the hast he could make, and declared vnto the King that Darius had planted Iron Baltops, whereas he thought his horsemen should passe: and by a certain signe shewed him the place, because it might be auoyded. Alexander willed the fugitive to be kept safe, and assembled all his Captaines together, declaring the matter, and exhorting them to make their souldiers priuie to the danger, for shewing the place pointed out to them. But all that were in so great an Armie could not heare the warning giuen, the noise of both Armies taking away the vse of the eares. But Alexander riding betwixt the battailles, gave exhortation to the Captaines, and to all other
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that were within hearing.

Hee declared that there was but one hazard remaining to them that had passed through so many countries in hope of the victory, which they were now ready to fight for. Therevpon he reduced to their memory the battailles they had fought, at the Riuer of *Granike*, in the mountaines of *Cilicia*, & with what speed they had passed ouer both *Syria* and *Egypt*: the rehearfall whereof put them in great hope, and pricked them forwards to the desite of glory. He shewed that the Persians beeing withdrawne againe from their former flying, were now compelled to fight of necessitie, because they could flye no further: and how that three dayes together amazed for feare, they had remained still in one place with their Armour on their backs. Of whose dispaire (he said) there could be no greater argument, then that they had set on fire their owne Countrey, confessing all to be their enemies, that they destroyed not. He exhorted them, not to feare the vaine names of vnknowne Nations: for it was a thing nothing pertinent to the moment of the matter, which were called Scythians or Caducians. For that they were vnknowne Nations, was the greatest token that they were men of no valour. For because such as bee valiant

liant men could neuer bee vnknowne in the world. And contrariwise, dastards when they come forth of their dens, bring nothing with them but names of men, whereas you (quoth he) that be Macedons haue obtained by your vertue and manhood, that there is no Countrey in the world ignorant of your acts. He willed them to behold the euill order that was in their enemies Host, of whom some had no weapon but a dart, others a sling to cast stones, and very fewe had such armor as they ought to haue. So that though there were a great number on the other part, yet hee said they had more on their side that should come to hand stripes. And that for his part, he would not require any man to adueneure himself, except he were an ensample to them to shewe valiantnesse & courage: for he promised that hee should be seene fighting with the foremost, knowing that so many wounds as he should get, should be so many ornaments to his person. He said, they themselves knew that he would be no partaker of the pray, but that euer his custome was to bestowe the rewards of the victorie to their behoofe and commoditie. His former words hee shewed to be spoken to such as were men of courage, but if there were any that were otherwise, they had to say vnto them that they were

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come vnto the place from whence they could not flye, hauing left so many countries behind them which they had passed ouer, and so many riuers and mountains at their backs: so that now there was no way to their houses and Country, but such as they must make open with their owne hands.

This was the exhortation he gaue vnto the Captaines, and to such of the Souldiers as came next him. Darius that was in his left Battaille, accompanied with a choise band of select horsemen and footemen, despised the small number of his enemies, theyr battailes appearing to him thinn and boyd of men, when hee sawe their wings stretches so farre abroad. He stood therefore on his Chariot on high, and turning himselfe both on the right hand and the left, spake in this sort to such as were about him.

We that not long since were Lords of all the Countries lying betweene *Hellepont* and the Ocean Sea, are compelled now to fight, not for fame and glory, but for our safegard and our libertie, which chiefly is to be esteemed. This day shall either establish or make an end of the greatest Empire that hath bene in any age. At the riuer of *Granike* we fought with a small part of our power, when wee were vanquished in *Cilicia*, *Syria* was able

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to receiue vs, and the Rivers of *Tigre* and *Euphrates* were as bulwarks to defend our kingdome. But now wee be come to that point that we haue no place to flye too, if wee be put to flight. All things behind our backe are wasted with this long warre, neither Cities be inhabited, nor me left to till y^e ground. Both our wiues and children do follow the Army, a pray readie for our enemies, except wee put forth our bodies for the defence of such as be deare vnto vs. So much as hath concerned me, I performed, preparing such an Army, as this huge plaine is scarcely able to receiue. I distributed amongst you horse and armour, prouiding that victuals should not want for such a multitude, and haue chosen out an apt place to arraunge our battailes in. All the rest remaineth in your hands. Do but dare, and the victorie is yours: despise you this fame, which is but a weake weapon against men of valour. It is rashnesse which hether to yee haue feared as a vertue, whereof when the first brunt is spent, it waxeth then dull as these Dranes, hauing once lost their tongues. This plaine hath disclosed their small number, which the mountaines of *Gilead* did hide: you see how thinne their ranks be, their wings how they be extended so broad, how their battailes be emptie & voyd

of men, and such as be hindermost haue already turned their backs. They may be overthrowne with your horse feet, though I send none against them but the hooked waggons. And if we win the battel, we make an end of the warre, for they haue no place to flie vnto. They bee shut in with *Tigre* on the one side, and *Euphrates* on the other: and such things as before made for their purpose, now be turned & made cleare against them. Our Army is light, and without much baggage, & they be laden with prayes and with booties. Wee shall kill them therefore as they be wrapt in our spoiles. And the same one thing shall be both our gaine and the cause of our victorie. If any of you bee moued with the fame of the natio, you must think that the armor within the outward shew, and not the bodies of the very Macedons be there present: we haue consumed so much of their bloud since the warre began. And seeing they be but fewe, their losse must needs bee to them the greater. For how great so euer *Alexander* dooth seeme to such as be fearefull and cowards, he is but a man, and if you trust mee, both rash, and without consideration: and hether to more fortunate through our feare, then by his owne valour. There is nothing can continue that is not gouerned by reason. For
though

though Fortune seeme to fauour for a while,
yet at length shee shall not support his rash-
nesse. Besides that, the estate of things be full
of change, and no man hath perpetually felici-
tie. It may bee that the prouidence of the
Goddess haue so ordained it, that the Empire
of the Persians encreased with such prospe-
rous successe by the space of two hundred and
thirty yeares, & brought to so great an height
of fortune, should now rather be shaken, then
utterly ouerthrowne: thereby to admonish
vs of mans fragillitie, which vseth to forget
himselfe ouermuch in prosperous estate. It is
not long agoe since of our owne motion and
courage, we moued warre against the Gre-
cians, & inuaded their Dominions: but now
wee stand at defence in our owne Countrey.
Thus wee be tossed one against an other by
exchange of Fortune. For one Nation can-
not beare the greatnesse of the Empire which
we both doo couet. But bee it so that hope
were taken from vs, yet necessitie ought to
pricke vs forwards, the matter is come to
such extremitie. He keepeth now as priso-
ners, both my mother, my two daughters,
and *Oechus* my sonne, borne to the successi-
on of this Empire. He keepeth captiue your
Prince, the issue that is descended of the
bloud royall: yea and your Captaines equall

with

with Kings, and if you doo not now lay too
your hands, I my selfe am like to become
captiue. Deliuier you therefore my bowels out
of prison, and restore to me my children, for
whose sake I do not refuse to die. Be you all
sure that both my mother and my children,
(for my wife is dead in prison) be holding vp
their hands, crying vnto the Gods, and cal-
ling for your helpe, your compassion, and fi-
delity, that you would deliuier them from ser-
uitude, from fetters, and from the estate they
are in, liuing at other mens will and appoint-
ment. Thinke you that they can be content
to liue vnder such, as they could scarcely
vouchsafe to haue for subiects? I see that our
enemies battailes do approach, & the nearer
the daunger is at hand, the lesse the words I
haue spoken do satisfie me. I make request
to you by the goddess of our countrey, by the
eternall fire that is carried vpon the Aultars,
by the brightnesse of the Sunne that riseth
within the bounds of mine Empire, and by
the euerlasting memorie of *Cyrus*, which first
did take the Empire from the Medes and Li-
dians, and gaue it to the Persians, to deliuier
their name and this Nation from shame and
reproach. Goe forth chearefully, haue you
good hope, and see that you restore to your
posteritie, the glory you receiued of your el-
ders

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ders. Lo, you carrie now in your hands, your libertie, your helpe, and your hope in time to come. Whosoever contemneth death, escapeth death, and death overtaketh such as do flye from death. I ride here in a Chariot, not onely for that it is my countrie custome, but also that I may be seene of you all. And I desire nothing so much, as that yee will follow mee, whether I shewe you an ensample of prowesse or of cowardlinesse.

In the mean season whilst Alexander did couet to eschew the place of perill whereof he was warned, and enforced himselfe to encounter with Darius left battaile, where he remained in person, was compelled to fetch a compasse about. Whom when Darius perceived, he turned likewise his owne battaile towards him, willing Bessus to appoint the Massagets Horsemen to giue a charge on Alexanders left Battaille. He set before him his hooked waggons, which by a signe giuen, brake out suddenly vpon their enemies with a full course, to the intēt that by their comming vnawares, they might doe the greater destruction. The pikes that were set before in the waggons, destroyed diuers, and many were tozne a sunder by the hookes that were on both sides. The Macedons gaue not place to them by a little and little, but troubled their array with a main flight.

fight. When Mazeus sawe their disorder, he put them in more feare, and appointed out a thousand horsemen to fetch a compasse about the Macedons battails to spoile their carriage, supposing that the prisoners which were there kept, would breake their bands when they should see their owne Nation approach. Parmenio which was in the left wing, perceived this matter well, and therefore sent by and by Polydamus vnto Alexander, to shew him the danger, and know his pleasure what he would haue done. When he vnderstood the case by Polydamus.

Go thy way (quoth he) and shewe Parmenio, if we win the battaile, we shall not onely recouer againe our owne, but shall haue also the spoile of our enemies. Therefore I would not that any part of our Force should be removed from the maine battaile, but let him fight it out manfully, and not regard the losse of baggage, wherein he shall obserue the honour of me, and my father Philip, whose custome was to do the like.

In the meane season the Persians were entered amongst the carriages, and had slaine diuers that were left there in defence: where vpon the prisoners began to lose themselves, and taking vp whatsoeuer came to hand, took part with the horsemen, and sharply assailed

the Macedons: diuers were so ioyful, that they ran to beare tidings to Sisigambis, how Darius had won the victorie, and had ouerthrowne his enemies, to their great slaughter, and also that their carriage was worne, thinking & like fortune had bene euery where. seeing they saw the Persians fall to spoile. And although they exhorted Sisigambis that shee should leaue her heavinesse and reioyce, yet she continued in the same estate she was in before, without speaking one word, or chaunging colour or countenance, but sat still immouable. Shee was so overcome (as it was thought) with sudden ioy, that shee durst not stirre nor attempt fortune. For such as did behold her, could not perceiue which way shee was enclined. In the meane season, Amyntas that was maister of the Horse to Alexander, came with a few bands of Horsemen to succour the carriages, but vncertaine it was, whether he did it of his owne head, or by the Kings appointment. He was not able to endure the force of the Cadusians and Scythians. For scarcely attempting the skirmish, hee was driuen backe, and fled againe vnto Alexander, being rather a witnesse of the losse of the carriage, then a rescuer of the same. The griefe that Alexander conceiued of this matter, overcame the purpose he tooke before in hand, and feared (not

with

without cause) least the souldiers through the carelesnes to recouer their owne, might leaue the fight, and resort toward their baggage: he sent therefore Aretes, Captain of the Spearemen & were named Sarisopherij, against the Scithes. By this time the hooked Waggon, which had somewhat troubled the forefront, were come within the square, (which the Macedons call Phalanx) yet the souldiers neuer shooke at the matter, but receiued them into the midst of their battaile, whereas ioyning themselves close together, they stood like a wall on both sides, thrusting theyr Pikes into the bowels of the horses, & ran about the waggon, throwing downe such as stood in them at defence. The whole battaile was entangled and troubled with the ruine and killing of the horses, with such as gouerned them. They could not rule their Horses when they were once galled and hurt: which with much leaping and struggling, not onely brake out of their trace, but also ouerthrew the waggons, drawing at their taites the men that were slain, neither being able to stand still for the feare they were in, nor yet goe forwards, being so faint of their wounds. Yet a few of them passed through the battaile, wherby such as the waggon did light vpon, were miserably slaine, lying vpon the ground with theyr members cut

S in sunder. Yet because that through the green-
nesse of theyr wounds they felt little pain,
they kept their weapons still, notwithstanding they were maimed and without strength,
till such time as by continuall bleeding, they
sunke downe dead. Arctes in the meane time
had slaine the Captaine of the Scythians that
were spoiling of the Carriages, and repulseth
them backe. But straightway came the Bactrians
by Darius sending, and turned the for-
tune of the field againe. Many Macedons
were slaine at the first encounter, but most
fled vnto Alexander. Then the Persians
made such a shoute as men are wont to do
that winne the victorie, and fiercely assailed
their enemies, thinking that they had in euery
place bene put to flight. When Alexander
perceiued his men shrink, to begin to
faint and giue ground, he rebuked such as he
sawe afraid, and encouraged many that with-
drew from the fight: so that he alone restored
the battaile againe. When he had put them
in heart, he required them to presse forwards,
and go on freely against their enemies. Alex-
ander perceiuing that the Bactrians were
departed to the defeating of the carriages, and
by their going had left the right hand battaile
of Darius thin and naked, he bent his force
wholly that way, and there made a wonder-
full

O full slaughter and destruction of his enemies,
which by reason of their loose array, were not
able to withstand him. The Persians in the
left wing seeing this thing, were in hope to
hauie enclosed Alexander about, and came
forwards to set vpon his backe part, whereby
great daunger had ensued to him, being en-
uironed both before and behinde: if the Agri-
ans had not put their spurs to theyr horses,
and giuen a charge to their enemies, that were
enuironing the king about, and so compel-
led the Persians to turne their faces again to-
wards them. The battailes thus were sore
tranelled on both sides. Alexander had his
enemies both before and behinde, and his ene-
mies that came on his backe were sore oppres-
sed by the Agrians. The Bactrians also that
had spoiled the carriages, were excluded from
their owne company, and could not recouer
their place againe. Thus the battailes were de-
uided in diuers parts, and fought one against
another as their chaunce fell. The two kings
that ioyned their Battailles hard one to an o-
ther, renewed againe the fight. There were
most of the Persians slaine, but the number
of the wounded were like on both sides. Da-
rius did ride in a chariot, and Alexander vpon
a horse. They both had a choise band about
them, which were careles of their owne liues.

For if their kings shuld miscarry, neither they could be safe, nor yet desire to live. Wherefore euery of them thought it a noble thing to adventure themselves before the face of their prince, and he that coueted most to defend his master, was in most perill, for each man desired the honor to kill the king on his contrary part. When (whether it were an imagination of the eyes, or a thing done indeed) such as were about Alexander, beleued that they sawe an Eagle flickering aboue his head, which neither feared with clashing of the harneis, nor by crying of the that were dying, hung still in the ayre, a little aboue him. When Aristander which wore a white garment, & carried lawrell in his hand, shewed this thing vnto the Souldiers, being busie in fighting, as a certaine token of victorie: the thing caused them which before were in some doubt, chearfully & with great confidence to assaile their enemies: the fight continued after this sort vntil the time that he was slaine, which gouerned the horse that drew Darius Chariot. When neither the Persians nor Macedons doubted but that Darius had bene slaine. And the Persians vpon that imagination made a barbarous noise, and a sorrowfull howling, wherewith they were troubled and astounded their whole host, that were yet fighting with equal victorie: Darius kinsmen and the Souldiers

by his body that were on his left hand, left him and fled away with a maine flight: but such as stood in his defence on his right hand, conveyed him into the heart of the battaile. It was said that Darius drew out his sword and was determined diuers times to kill himselfe, rather then to sustaine the shame of flying away. But when he saw as he sat aloft on his Chariot, that a great part of his army remained yet fighting, he was ashamed to leaue them in such sort. And whilest he thus wavered in his owne opinion betwixt hope and dispaire, the Persians by little and little gaue ground, and shrunke from their order. Alexander that had tyed many horses, did at that instant change a new, and strake at the faces of them that made resistance. There was none then that made resistance any longer, but a manifest slaughter fell on the Persians, and Darius turned his Chariot to flye away. The Macedons pursued hard after them that fledde, and the dust that flew vp to the skye, took away their prospect, so that they wandered as it had bin in darknesse, and euer drew together when they heard any voice that they knew. Only the rattling and noise of the Chariot was a token for the Macedons to follow after. As Fortune was prosperous to the Macedons on this part, and contrarious vnto their enemies, so on the other

at his departure, said: that he had rather open
the way to them that pursued them, then to
shut it against them that fled after him. But
Darius left not his flying till hee came to Ar-
bella, where hee arrived about midnight.
Who is able to conceive in his minde, or ex-
presse in words, the manifold chaunces in this
discomfiture, the slaughter that fell both upon
Captaines and souldiers, the chasing of them
that were put to flight, & the destruction in par-
ticular and generall: fortune heaped together
that one day the chaunces of a whole world.
Some took the way y^e came next to hand, an-
other sort fled into the woods, and sought out by-
pathes to escape such as had them in the chase.
There was a confusion of horsemen & footemen
mixed together without any head, the armed
with the unarmed, & the whole with the hurt.
At length the compassion that one had of an-
other was turned into fear, & they that could not
follow, were left bewailing themselves one to
an other. But thirst chiefly afflicted the wound-
ed and wearied, which lay along every where
in the wayes where any water was, gasping
after it with open mouth. And when for grad-
nes they had gulled in the troubled water, they
began to swel, when the mud once entred into
they^r intrales. And being thus not in case
to move, the enemy came and stirred them
up

up with new wounds. Some when the books
neare hand were taken up by others, sought
out for Springs in every secret place. For
there was no puddle so drie, nor so farre out of
the way, that could be hidden from the thirst
of them that searched them out. The old men
and women were heard howling & crying in
all the villages neare the way side, how Da-
rius was yet their King. Alexander (as it
hath beene said before) pursuing the chase, was
come to the river of Licus, whereat the multi-
tude of the flyers was greater then could passe
the bridge. So that many when their enemies
pursued them, leapt into the water, and there
laden with their Armour, and wearied with
fighting and flying, were consumed with the
stream. But within a while neither the bridge
nor the River were able to receive the throng
that continually increased by their indiscrete
flying. For when feare was once entered in-
to their hearts, they doubted onely that which
put them first in feare. The Macedons were
eager in the pursute of their enemies, and re-
quired Alexander that hee would not suffer
his enemies to escape free away. But hee to
stay them, alledged that their weapons were
dulled, their hands wearied, their bodies faint
with long pursute, & the night besides fast ap-
proaching on. But in very deed the care of his
other

other battaille which hee thought to be yetting, caused him to returne to the succour. He had not so soone turned his Ensignes, but certaine Horsemen brought him word from Parmenio, that hee likewise had put his enemies to flight. Hee was not in so great a danger all that day, as when he was comming towards his Campe. For there were but few that followed him, and they were out of order as men that reioycing of the victorie, iudged their enemies either to be fled or slaine in the field. Suddenly there appeared a band of Persian horsemen comming against them, which at the first stayed, but afterwards perceiving the small number of the Macedons, gave charge vpon them. The King rode foremost rather dissimuling then despising the perill which was in: but his perpetuall felicitie neuer failed him in extremities. For at the first encounter hee strake the Captaine of the Persians (who in eagernes of y^e fight vnadvisedly came against him) through with a Speare. Whereupon hee with that blow was stricken to the ground. Alexander slew the next vnto him with the same staffe, and after diuers other. When his company saw their enemies amazed with his doings, they brake vpon them, and threw many to the earth: yet they for their parts were not vntreneged, for the whole battell did not


in earnestly fight, as that small band assembled so by chaunce. But at length when they sawe flying in the dark to be more suretie vnto them then fighting, they shocked away in diuers companies. Alexander hauing escaped this extraordinarie perill, brought his men in safeguard vnto his Campe. There were slaine of the Persians which came to the knowledge of them that had y^e victorie fortie thousand, and of the Macedons lesse then thre hundred. Which victorie Alexander wonne more by his owne vertue, then by any fortune: and with hardines and courage, more then through any advantage of the ground. For he both ordered his battailles polittically, and fought manfully. With great wisdom he contemned the losse of the baggage, considering the waight of the whole matter to consist in the battaille it selfe. Whilist the fortune of the field was yet doubtfull, hee vsed himselfe as assured of the victorie. And when he had put his enemies in feare, hee ceased not till hee had set them flying, and that which scarcely can be beleued, in that fiercenesse of courage, he pursued in the chase more wisely then greedily. For if hee should haue followed on still, part of his power yet fighting in the field, hee should either haue lost the battaille through his owne fault, or else haue wonne the victorie through the

prowesse

proffesse of other men. And if after hee had
ten the victorie, he had shewed himselfe
of the horsemen that hee met, hee must
haue shamefully fled, or haue bene miser-
slaine. For his Captaines were not to
defrauded of theyr commendation, for
wounds that they did receiue, were token
their manhood. Ephestions arme was won-
ded with a Speare: Perdicas, Cenos, and
Medinas, with shot of Arrowes were
slaine. And if wee will giue a true iudgement
of the Macedons that were there, we
confesse that hee was a king worthy such
ministers, and they men worthe
of such a maister.



The fift Booke of
Quintus Curtius, of the acts
of *Alexander* the great,
King of Macedon.



I shall make mention
of the matters that chan-
ced in the meane season,
both in Greece, Illiria,
and Thracia, by the ap-
pointment and commissi-
on of Alexander, in order
as they fell: the matters of Asia should thereby
be interrupted, which I thought most conue-
nient to put wholly to gether, vntil the death of
Darius, and then to ioyne them in this worke,
as they agree with the time. I will first speake
of those things that ensued after the battaile at
Arbella, where Darius arrived about mid-
night. And as it chaunced, the more part of his
friends, and of al other that were come thither,
he called them all together, and spake to them
in this effect.

¶

That

That he doubted not but *Alexander* and his men gaping with greedie desire for the abundance of spoile that was in a readines for them, would visit such cities and countries of his, as were most notable and plentiful of riches: which thing he said, considering his estate, could not but turne at length to his auaille. His purpose was he said, with a small band to repaire into the deserts. And seeing the vntermost bounds of his kingdome were yet vntouched, he might from thence easily repaire his power againe to renew the warre. Let therefore that greedie nation (quoth he) take my treasure and satisfie their hunger with gold, which shortly shall cause both the same and them also to be a pray vnto vs. For he had learned (he said) by experience, that the abundance of riches, & excesse of things that their flockes of Concubines and Eunuchs were nothing else but burthens & impediments: which *Alexander* possessing and carrying about, should make him inferior vnto them of whom before hee was victorious.

His oration seemed to all men to bee full of desperation: for they saw thereby that the Citie of Babylon should be given vp vnto the Macedons, and Sufa shortly after, with other ornaments of the realm, and were con-

of the warre. But he proceeded in perswading them, how that men in aduersitie ought not to do things that should seeme goodly in the speaking, but necessary in the experience. That warres were made with Iron, and not with Gold: with men, and not with the walles of Cities, for all things follow them that bee armed and in strength. He shewed that his ancestors were afflicted after this manner in the beginning, & yet recovered again quickly their former estate. After he had spoke these words, either for that they were thereby encouraged, or else that they rather obeyed his authoritie then liked his counsel, followed him into the bounds of Media. Shortly after Arbella was giuen vp vnto Alexander, which was full of riches and treasure, of precious stufte, and princely apparel, and besides the substance of the whole Army was left there. The sicknesse that began in Alexanders Campe, rising of the sauer of the dead bodie scattered ouer all the fields, was the cause that he did the sooner remove. The plaine Country of Arabia very notable, with the abundance of sweete odours there growing, lay vpon the right hand as they marched. And so passing through the Country lying betwene Tigre and Euphrates, which is so fatte and plentiful a ground, that the Inhabitants bee faine to dresse their beasts

from feeding, leaſt they ſhould kill themſelves by eating ouermuch. The cauſe of this ſerth-
 liſſe, cometh of the moiſture that iſſueth from
 both Riuerſ diſtilling by veines through the
 ground. Both theſe Riuerſ haue their begin-
 ning in the mountain of Armeie, where they
 be diſtant, 5. thouſand 5. hundred farlongs, and
 ſo runne ſorwards keeping their diſtance, till
 they come neare y bounds of Media and Gor-
 dia. For then by little and little the further they
 goe, they drawe more neare together, leauing
 leſſe ſpace betwixt them. They encloſe on
 both ſides the Countrey that is called Meſo-
 potamia, from whence they runne through
 the boundes of Babylon into the redde Sea.
 After Alexander had chaunged his Camp
 foure times, hee came to a Citie called Mem-
 num, whereas there is a fountaine within a
 cane that boyleth out great plentie of pitch: ſo
 it appeareth that the Babilonians had their
 cement from thence, which they imployed a-
 bout the making of their huge walles. As A-
 lexander was going from thence towards
 Babilon, Mazeus which was ſaid befoze to
 haue fled from the battaile, came to meeete him
 in moſt humble maner, whereas committing
 his childze into his hands, yeelded himſelf, and
 rendred vp the Citie. His comming was very
 gratefull vnto the king, conſidering what tra-
 uel

nell hee ſhould haue ſuſtained in the ſiege of ſo
 ſtrong a citie: if it had bene kept againſt him.
 And beſides, for ſo much as Mazeus was a
 man both famous and valiant, and much no-
 ted for his doing in the laſt battaile, thought
 his enſample ſhould much prouoke others to
 do the like. For that cauſe hee receiued both
 him and his childzen with gentle maner, and
 yet gaue order to his men, that they ſhould en-
 ter into the citie in ſuch aray of battel as if they
 ſhould fight. A great number of the Babiloni-
 ans ſtood vpon the walles, deſirous to behold
 him y was their new king. But the moſt part
 went forth to meeete him. Bagiftines that was
 Captaine of the caſtle, and keeper of the kings
 treasure, becauſe he would ſhew himſelfe to be
 no leſſe affectionate towards Alexander then
 Mazeus was, ſhrowed all the waies where he
 ſhould paſſe, with flowers & garlands, and ſet
 aultars of ſiluer on both ſides, to ſcrankence
 burning vpon the ſame, and all other kinde of
 ſweete odours. Pert vnto him came flockes of
 beaſts, great numbers of hoxes, with Lyons
 and Pardalles carried in Cages, which hee
 brought as preſents to giue vnto Alexander.
 And after them the Magies, ſinging accor-
 ding to their Countrey maner. The Caldees
 went next with their Diuiners and Prophets,
 and then the Muſitians with their kindes of

Instruments : whose propertie was to sing
the praise of Kings : and the Caldeis were
to declare the motions of the Planets, with
the course and revolution of the time. Last in
order came the Babilonian horsemen, whose
sumptuous furniture, both for themselves and
their horses, tended more to voluptuousness
and delicacie, then to any magnificence. Alex-
ander that was enclosed about with armed
men, willed that the Babilonians should come
behinde his footmen, and hee riding aloft in his
Chariot, entred into the Citie, and afterwards
into the place, where the next day hee surrup-
ped Darius treasure and riches. The beautie
and pleasantnesse of that Cittie gaue iust occa-
sion to Alexander, and such as were with
him to wonder much vpon it. Semiramis
was the builder thereof, and according to some
mens opinion, Belus whose Pallace is to be
scene there. The walles bee made of Brickes,
set with a kinde of Pitch, called Bitumen, and
they be 32. fote in breadth, so that two carts
may easily goe vpon them a front. They be in
height a hundred cubits, and the Towers be
ten fote higher then the rest of the walles : the
compasse of them about, is 368. furlongs, be-
ing builded (as it is left in memorie) in so
many dayes. The houses stand the breadth
of an acre distant from the walles, not builded
thoroughly

throughout the Cittie, but onely by the space
of 90. furlongs, and those not ioyned neare
one to an other, but for some consideration de-
uided a sunder. The rest of the ground is so-
wed and tilled, to the intent that if any forrein
power come against them, they should bee able
to bee relieved by the fruite thereof comming.
The River of Euphrates doth runne through
the middest of the Cittie, and is kept in on both
sides with wals of a wonderful workmanship.
But the great caues made of brickes, & set with
Pitch in stead of Morter, wrought low within
the ground to receiue the violence of y^e stream,
do exceed all the rest of the workes there made:
for except the same were of quantitie & large-
nes to receiue the water when the stream flow-
eth ouer the bankes that be made to keepe it
in, the violence thereof should beare downe the
houses of the Cittie. There is also ouer y^e riuer
a stone bridge which ioyneth both parts of the
Cittie together, counted amongst the maruel-
ous workes of the Orient. For by reason that
Euphrates is so full of mud and ooze, ground
can scarcely there bee found to lay that founda-
tion vpon, and the streame besides casteth vp
such heapes of sand against the bridge, that it
is an impediment for the water freely to passe,
and therefore beareth vpon the bridge with
greater force, then if it had his free recourse.

There is also a Castle that is twenty furlongs about, the Towers whereof bee thirtie fote deepe within the ground, and foure scoze fote in height about the ground. Where also the wonders are to bee seene, so often mentioned in the Greeke poesies. For in the same be whole Groaves of Trees set by wonderfull art about the ground, so high as the toppes of the towers, which bee marvellous beautifull and pleasant through their height and shadow that they make. The whole waight of them is sustained and borne by huge Pillars made of stone, upon which there is a floze of square stone, that both upholdeth the earth that lieth deepe upon the pillar, and also the humour wherewith it is watered. The trees that grow thereupon be of 8. cubits about, and as fruitfull as if they grew on naturall earth. And although processe of time is wont by little and little not onely to destroy things made with hand, but also the very workes of nature: yet this worke, for all it is oppressed with the roots of so many trees, and burdened with y^e waight of so much earth, and of so great a wood: yet remaineth vnperished in any point, being sustained by with 20. broad walles distant 11. fote one from an other. When these trees bee seene a farre off, they seeme to bee a Wood growing upon a mountaine. It is said that a King of

Syria

Syria reigning in Babylon, builded this worke for his wiues phansie, who for the loue she had to Woods and shadowy places, moued her husband in doing thereof to counterfaite the pleasantnes of nature. Alexander tarried longer there then in any other Citie, which hurted more the discipline of the Macedons in theyr wars then any other place. For nothing was more corrupt then the maners and customes of the citie, nor any other was more abundantly furnished of all things, wherewith men be allured and stirred to excessive pleasures. The parents and husbands were contented for gains that their childre and wiues should haue company with such strangers as came amongst the. The Kings and Nobilitie of Persie delighted much in banqueting pastime, but the Babilonians be specially giuen therunto, to wine and to drunkennesse, where the women vse such a custome, that in the beginning of the feast their apparell seemeth womanly and demure, but afterwards by little and little they put off their uppermost garments, and laying aside all shamefastnesse, doe discover themselves naked. Which vile custome is not vsed by harlots onely, but by them all in generall, which count the making of their bodies common, but a ciuillie and good manner: In this voluptuousnesse and abomination, the conquerour of Asia

Asia wallowed by the space of 34. dayes, whereby he became much the weaker to have done other enterprises, if hee had had an enemy to have stood against him. But to the intent the harme hee tooke should bee the lesse perceived, hee encreased his power with a new supply of men. For Amyntas the sonne of Andromenes, brought him from Antipater five thousand Macedon footmen, and five hundred horsemen: and with them five hundred Thracian horsemen, with three thousand five hundred footmen of the same nation. He had also out of Peloponnesse foure thousand footmen, and foure hundred foure scoze horsemen, being mercenarie souldiers. Amyntas also brought with him fiftie young men of the nobilitie of Macedonia, to attend vpon Alexanders person: whose office was to serue the King at meat, and to bring him his horse when he went to battaile. They accustomed to be about him when he hunted, and kept y watch by course at his chamber doore. These were they which afterwards proued great Captaines, and that was the race, out of the which the rulers of theyr men of warre did come. Alexander appointed Agathon Captaine of the Castle of Babilō, with seven hundred Macedons, and three hundred mercenarie souldiers, and left Minetas and Appollidorus,

governors

governors of the Cittie and the Countrey, to whom hee assigned two thousand footmen, and a thousand talents, giuing them in commission to wage moze souldiers. Hee made Mazeus that gaue the Cittie into his hands, Lieutenant of the whole, and caused Bagistines that yelded vp the Castle to follow him in his warres. Armenia was giuen to Mithrenes that betrayed the Cittie of Sardos, and to encourage his souldiers to the enterprising of other things, gaue out of the treasure of Babylon to euery Macedon Horseman five hundred Deniers, to euery Horseman of the straungers five hundred, and to euery footman two hundred. When he had set order in all these things, hee came into the Countrey called Sarrapene, which being plentifull of all things, and abundant of victuall, caused the King to tarry the longer there. And lest idlenesse should be any abatement of his mens courages, deuised to stirre vp their spirits, and keepe them occupied, by appointing Iudges to trye out such as had shewed themselves most valiant in the wars, to whom he assigned rewards due to their deseruings. There were 8. found out, whose dwings appeared aboue the rest, & the charge of a M. men was committed to each one of them, & were called Chiliarchi: that was the first time they put a M. in a band,

for

for before the time they were deuised into 500, which was not counted any great preferment or reward of seruice. The number of them were great that came to plead they right in this behalfe, which before the Iudges that gaue sentence, brought in testimonie of their doings: whereby it could not bee vnknowne which of them had deserued iustly such honore or not. The first place was adiudged to olde Adarchias, for his valiantnesse vsed in the Battaille at Alicarnasson, where hee chiefly did restore againe the fight, when the young Souldiers had giuen it ouer. The second place of honour was giuen Antigonus, and Philotas. Angeus obtained the third. The fourth was adiudged to Amyntas. The fift to Antigonus. Amyntas the sonne of Lyncestes, obtained the sixt. Theodorus the seuenth. And Hellanicus the last. Whereupon to great purpose hee altered many things that were vsed by his Predecessors in the discipline of warre. For whereas before the hoymen of enery countrey were in seuerall bands by themselves, hee without respect of any Nation, appointed them such Captaines as hee thought expedient. And whereas at the removing of the Campe warning was accustomed to be giuen by a Trumpet, the sound wherof in any noise or tumult could not bee sufficiently

heard:

heard: hee caused an high pole to bee alwayes set vp before his Pavillion, whereupon remained a signe apparant to all men. The token that they obserued, was fire in the night, and smoake in the day time. As hee was marching towards Susa, Abulites that was ruler of the Region, either by Darius commandement, thinking by meanes of the spoile to detain Alexander the longer there, or else of his owne free will, sent his sonne to meete him, profering the deliuerie of the Cittie. The young man was entreated very gently, and by his conduction Alexander passed forwards, till hee came to the Riuer of Hydaspis, which is counted to bee a very delicate water. Abulites there met Alexander with princely and rich gifts, and presented him amongst the rest of other things, Dormedary Camels that were wonderfull swift, with twelue Elephants that Darius had sent for out of India, to bee a terrour to the Macedons, which now wee are become an increase of theyr strength. When the riches of the vanquished was come into the victors hands, he found in that Citie an incredible treasure, fiftie thousand talents of Massie siluer vncoynded, which riches gathered together in the space of many yeares by diuers Kings, for their succession and posteritie, thus in a moment came into the hands

hands of a foraine Prince. Alexander being lodged within the Wallace, did sit downe in Darius seate: which being higher then seated for his stature, by reason his feete could not reach to the ground: one of the kings Pages put a board underneath for him to tread upon: at the doing whereof, one of the Eunuches that belonged to Darius looked heauily, and fetched a great sigh, whose sadnesse when Alexander perceiued, hee enquired of him the cause. He answered, that when he beheld the board wherupon Darius was wont to eate, employed to so base a vse, he could not behold it without great griefe. Alexander being therefore ashamed, so much to misuse the thing that before was had in such reuerence, caused the same to be taken away. But Philotas made request he should not so doe, but rather take it as a diuination of his good luck and fortune, y^e the table wherupon his enemy did eat should now become subiect vnto his feete. Alexander purposing from thence to passe into Perse, committed the city of Susa to Archilanus with 3000. men of war, & to Zenophilus the charge of the Castle, leaving such Macedons as were aged there in garrison. But he did bestow the keeping of y^e treasure vnto Calicrates, and restored to Abulites the government and principalltie of the Countrey of Susa, leaving

with

within the Citie Darius mother & his childe. And soz as much as Alexander had at the same time plentie of cloth of purple sent him out of his Countrey, with garments ready made after the Macedons manner: for the honour he bare to Sisigambis (whom he had in reuerence as if shee had bene his mother) thought good to present part of those to her, with the persons y^e used to make them: and willed it should be tolde her, if she liked them, she should accostome her nieces to make the like, & giue them for presents. At the declaring of which message the teares ran out of her eyes, which declared the gift not to be acceptable to her: for the Persian women take nothing in more despite, then to put their hands to wooll. When report was made to Alexander, in what sort shee had receiued his present, thought both the matter meete to be excused, & her to be comforted. Therefore he came to visit her, and said:

This garment which I weare, was both of the gift and making of my sisters: our customes brought me into errour. Therefore I require you, that ye will not take mine ignorance in euill part. I trust that otherwise I haue obserued sufficiently all things which I knew to be your customes. When I vnderstood that it was not lawfull amongst you for the sunne to sit in the mothers presence, except

cept she doth giue him leaue: whensoever
came into your presence, I would neuer see
you willed mee so to do. You would often
times haue fallen downe & worshipped me,
but I would not suffer you: but haue euer ho-
noured you, and giuen you the name due
my sweet mother *Olimpiades*.

When the King with these words had
pacified her, hee departed, and by foure
campings came vnto a Riuer that the coun-
treymen call *Palatigras*, which springing
the mountains of the *Urions*, it runneth steep
downe amongst the rocks with woody banks
by the space of 50. furlongs: but then descen-
ding into a plain, it becommeth nauigable, and
so runneth with a more quiet streame, and in
a softer ground, by the space of 600. furlongs,
till such time as it doth enter into the *Persian*
sea. Alexander passing this Riuer with nine
thousand footemen of the *Macedons*, with the
Agrians, the mercenarie *Greekes*, and with
4000. *Thracians*, came amongst the *Urions*,
whose Countrey is neare vnto *Susis*, and
stretcheth out into *Persia*, leauing betwixt
and *Susis* a narrow straight. *Madates* had the
rule of that countrey, who was such a man
was rare at that time: for he determined to
vide the extremities of his duties sake. Such
knew the country, did enforme Alexander that

ther

there was a priue way through the *Hilles*,
wherby men might get to the furthest side
of the chiefe citie of that Countrey: and if hee
would send a few that were light armed, they
might be brought to a place where they should
appeare aboue their enemies heads. This
counsell liked him so well, that he made the
counsellers guides, & committed the to *Tauron*,
whom he appointed chiefe of the enterprize. He
assigned vnto him 1500. mercenarie Souldi-
ers, and 1000. *Agrians*, with whom after the
Sunne was gone downe, hee entred into his
journey. Alexander in the third watch remo-
ued his Campe, & by the spring of the day had
passed the straights: there he set his men in hand
to cut downe timber for the making of towers
and all other such things as pertained to the as-
sault of a Citie, and so began his siege. It was
a difficult matter to make the approach: the ci-
tie stood so high, and the rocks gaue such im-
pediment, whereby the souldiers were repul-
sed, and receiued many hurts, contending both
with the enemies, & the situation of the place:
notwithstanding they gaue it not ouer, by rea-
son the King was euer amongst the foremost,
asking of them if they were not ashamed being
the conquerers of so many cities, to be so long
in winning of a small Castle, that was so ob-
scure and vnknowne in the world. As hee was

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travelling amongst the rest, they did shote and
 cast stones at him from the walles: whom the
 Souldiers defended with their Targets, be-
 cause they could not remoue him away. At
 length Tauron appeared aboue the Castle of
 the Citie: at whose sight the enemies hearts
 fainted, and the Macedons the more fiercely
 did assaile them. When they sawe themselves
 in this extremitie, and perceiued they were
 not able to withstand the Macedons, they be-
 came of diuers dispositions. For some were de-
 termined to die, and many to flye away. But
 the greater part rettyzed themselves into the
 Castle, from whence they sent vnto Alexander,
 30 Embassadors to aske mercie. But he
 gaue vnto them a sorrowfull answer, saying
 there was no part to be obtained at his hand
 whereupon they being in doubt of death, and
 excluded from all other remedies, sent vnto
 Sisigambis by a priuy way vnkowne to the
 enemies, making their request that she would
 be a meane to Alexander for the pacifying
 of his rigour and wrath toward them. In
 her onely they put their hope, knowing how
 much Alexander loued her, and that he esteem-
 ed her as if she had bene his mother. And
 they thought she would the rather incline
 to their desire, because Madares that
 Captaine there had married her sisters had

her, wherby he became a kin to Darius. Sisigam-
 bis stood long in deniall of their request, she-
 wing that it agreed not with her fortune to be-
 come an intercessour for others, adding there-
 vnto, that she feared least she might misuse the
 victors fauours, and make him weary of her:
 for she said y she had more remembrance that
 she was prisoner, then that she was a Queene.
 But at length shee was overcome with theyr
 suite, and by her Letters made intercession vnto
 Alexander, after such sort that shee first
 excused her selfe of her suite making, and after
 required him that hee would pardon them,
 at the least wayes that he would forgive her
 being petitioner but for the life onely of such a
 one, as was her friend and kinsman, and now
 no longer any enemy of his maiestie, but in rea-
 son to submit himselfe. This one matter is
 sufficient to declare the moderation & clemen-
 cy that was then in Alexander: for he did not
 onely pardon Madares, but also left the Citie
 untouched, graunting to all that were within
 both libertie and freedom, with enioyment
 of their lands and goods, without paying of a
 tribute, more then that which shee could not
 haue obtained of Darius being her son. When
 shee thus subdued the Arions, shee annexed
 the province of Susa, and purposing
 to passe forwards, deuided his Army into two

parts, whereof he committed the one to Parmenio to be conducted by the plaine countrey, and reseruing such a part as was pestered with baggage, tooke y^e way of the mountaine, which with a continuall ridge, runneth but in length from thence into Persia. In his passing he destroyed all the mountaine Countrey, arriving the third day in the bounds of Persia. The 5. day hee entred into the Straights of Pelaeusidae, which were defended by Artabazanes with 15000. footmen, who keeping the toppes of the high and steepe rockes hanging over on both sides the way, at the first kept themselves quiet of purpose, pretending a feare, untill such time as the Army was entred into the narrowest of the straight. When they sawe the Macedons passe on forwards in their contempt, then they threw down great stones upon them: which falling upon the nethermost rockes, and there breaking in peeces, rebounded among the Macedons, striking with such violence, that they distressed whole bands at once. And besides they did them great damage with shot of Arrows, and stones that they did cast out of slings. As were men of courage were not so grieued with the death and destruction that they sawe there present, as that they should flaine after such maner like beastes caught

a pit, whereas they could not bee reuenged upon their enemies. Their wrath hereupon was turned into such a rage and woodnes, that they ran by against the rockes, and there enforced themselves by taking hold, and by heaving by one of another, to mount by vnto their enemies. But when they had caught hold upon some outward part, and thereby laboured to ascend, by force of so many hands that fastened to it at once, they pulled asunder the thing they held by, and so fell downe all together. In this case they could neither remaine, passe forwards, nor yet defend themselves by any device they could make with their targets, seeing the stones were of such waight that were throwne downe upon them. Alexander was in great trouble of minde, not onely for the grieve hee receiued by the destruction of his men, but much more for the shame that he had so rashly brought his Armie into such a dangerous straight. He had bene invincible before that day, and neuer attempted thing in vaine. He had passed the Straights of Cilicia without damage, and opened to himself a new way by sea into Pamphilia, which felicitie of his seemed to be at a stay, and plucked backe: so he could perceiue no other remedie, then to returne by the way he came. He caused the re-
treat therefore to be sounded, and gaue order to

he knew those things by report, or else had seen them with his eyes. He said that he had been an Heard-man, and knew the Countrey very well, and all the passages. And that he had bin twice taken prisoner: once by the Persians in Licia, and now the second time by him. Upon those words Alexander called an Oracle to memorie, wherby it was signified to him, that a Lician should bee his guide into Persia. Wherefore promising to him such rewards as the present necessitie required, and as his estate was meet to receiue, willed him to be armed after the Macedons manner, and to be their guide to shewe them the way. Which though hee had declared to bee but straght and difficultie, yet Alexander put no doubt to passe it with a small number: thinking it an easie matter to passe y^e place for glory and perpetuall commendation that the hard-man had passed oftentimes in feeding of his beastes. When the prisoner left not to alledge the difficulties of the way, specially for such as weare Armour: but the King said to him, take me for suretie that neuer one of them that be appointed thee, shall refuse to goe where thou shalt passe. That done hee left Craterus with the charge of his Campe, and hee himselfe passed forwards with such footemen as were accustomed to his person, with those bands of whom

Meleager

Meleager had charge, and with a thousand Archers on horsebacke, taking first order with Craterus, that hee would keepe his Campe in such forme as it hadde bene vsed before, and cause many fires to bee made of purpose, that the enemies might the rather thinke him to be there still present: hee aduised him further that if hee perceiued Artobarzanes to get knowledge of his enterprise, and so to send part of his power to the stopping of his passage, that then by pretending of an assault he should shew all the terrour hee could to drawe his enemies from him, to the defence of that place. But if that hee himselfe should deceiue his enemies, and recouer the Hill vpon them, that then vpon the hearing of the alarum in the Persies campe, preparing themselves to his resistance, hee should not doubt to passe that way from whence they were repulled the day before, iudging they should finde no resistance, the enemies being conuerted towards him. In the third watch hee set forwards in great silence, without sounding of trumpet, and passed on by such way as was shewed him by the guide, every souldier that was light armed carrying three dayes vittaille. But when he was on his way, besides the wilde rocks and sharp stones that caused them oft to faile their footing, the snowe also giuen with the winde, was a great

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impediment to them in their iourney. For they fell diuers times downe into pits, and such as coueted to pull them out, were oft times drawne after. The night also with the countrey vnknowne, and the guide of whose fidelity they doubted, encreased much their feare: considering that if they should not deceiue their enemies Watch, they should bee taken like beastes. They wayed also that both their safegard and the kings lay in the hands of one that was a prisoner. At length they came to a Mountaine, whereas the way towards Prioharzanes lay on the right hand. When he sent befoze by the guiding of such as they had taken prisoners, Philoras, Cenon, Amyntas, and Policarpon, with a band of the lightest armed, whom he assured that he was as much as they had both horsemen & footmen, and the countrey fertill and abundant of fodder, that they should make no haste, but passe forwards faire and easily. And he with the equires of his body, and the band of horsemen that they called Agema, was guided by another by-path, farre off from the place where his enemies kept their watch. But the passage was so straight and so hollow, that they suffered great trouble and vexation in passing thereof. It was midday, and they were so wearied, that of necessitie they must take rest,

rest, hauing so farre to goe, and as they had trauelled alreadie, sauing that the way was not so difficult nor so rough. He refreshed therefore his men with meat and with sleepe, and in the second watch did rise vp and passed the rest of his iournie without any great difficultie, sauing in that part where the Mountaine began to fall a slope towards the plaine, the passage was suddenly stopped by a great gull made with violence of the Streames that ranne downe the Mountaines, by wearing away of the earth. And besides the trees standing so thicke, and the bowes that grew one within an other, appeared befoze them as a continuall hedge. When they saw themselves stayed after this manner, such desperation fell amongst them, that they could scarcely abstaine from teares: the darknesse being a great increase of their terrour, seeing they could not enioy any benefite of the Starres. For if any gaue light, the same was taken away by the shadow of the trees. And the vse of the eares could not serue for one to receiue counsell and comfort at an other, the winde whirled so amongst the leaues, and the shaking of the bowes made such a noise. But at length y day which they so much desired, diminished with his light the terrours that the darknes of the night did make. For by fetching of a little compass about they

they passed the hollow gull, and every man began to be a guide. Finally, they got vp in the top of the hill, from whence they might behold their enemies lying in Campe. Then the Macedons shewed themselves stoutly in their Armour, appearing suddenly on theyr backs, when they mistrusted no such thing, and there slew such as came first to encounter with the. So that on the one part the grievous noise of them that wer slaine, and the miserable shoute of such as ranne in for succour amongst theyr owne company, put the rest to flight without making any resistance. When the alarum was once heard in the Campe where Craterus lay, the Armie by and by passed forwards to goe through the straights, in the which they were repulled the day before. Philotas also with Polipecron, Cenos, and Amintas, which were gone the other way, arrived at the same time, and gaue a further terrour vnto theyr enemies. When the Persians sawe their enemies assailing in all parts at once, though they were so oppressed with their sudden inuasion, that at the first they were in doubt what to do, yet at length they assembled together, and fought notably, necessitie stirring vp the faintnesse of their hearts: for oftentimes dispaire is cause of mens good hope. They being matched, closed with them that were armed, and

with

with the waight of their bodies pulled theyr enemies to the earth, and killed diuers with their owne weapons. Artobarzanes with forty horsemen, and five thousand footemen that kept about his person, brake through the battaile of the Macedons, to the great slaughter both of his owne men and of his enemies, and by making haste, recovered Persepolis the chiefe Citie of the countrey. But when he was excluded from thence by such as were within, he renewed againe the fight with such as were with him and so was slaine. By that time Craterus that made all the speed hee could deuise, was come vnto them, and Alexander fortified his Campe in the same place, where he did discomfite his enemies. For though they were all fled, and he certaine of the victorie, yet because hee found his way stopped in many places with great and deepe ditches, hee thought good to vse circumspection, and not to make over-great haste: not so much for feare of his enemies force, as of the nature of the ground, which he sawe apt for the to lay ambushments against him. As he was passing forwards, hee receiued Letters from Tiridates the keeper of Darius treasure, signifying that the inhabitants of Persepolis hearing of his comming, were about to spoile the treasure, and that therefore he should make hast to prevent the matter, for

the

the way was readie inough, notwithstanding that the river of Araxes was in his way. There was no vertue in Alexander more commendable then his celeritie, which he shewed specially in this matter: for leaving his footemen behind, he travelled at night with his horsemen, and by the day light came to the river of Araxes, there he found Villages at hand, whereof the timber broken downe off the houses, they made a Bridge in a moment, by the helpe of stones which were laid in the bottome of the River. When Alexander was passed the River, and came neare vnto the citie, a company met him so miserable, as sildome haue bene found in any memorie: the same were Greeks, to the number of foure thousand, whom the Persians before time had taken prisoners, and afflicted with diuers kindes of torments. For of them some had their fete cut off, some they had hands, and other their eares, but all were marked in the flesh with hot Irons. The Persians hauing maimed and deformed them after this manner, kept and reserued them still, as a memorie of the despise towards the nation. But when they sawe that they should become vnder the obedience of an other Prince, they suffered the Greeks to meete Alexander. They appeared rather to bee the Images of some strange monsters, then of men: for nothing could

could be discerned, or known in them, but their voyce. The compassion of their wretched estate, caused the beholders to let fall no fewer teares then they did themselves. For it could not appeare which of them were most miserable, though their afflictions were diuers. But when they had cryed out before Alexander, that Iupiter the reuenger of Greece, had opened their eyes in beholding him that should deliuer them, they iudged then all they griefes as one. Alexander wiped the teares from his eyes, and willed them to bee of good cheare, for that they should both see they Countrey and their friends, and hee encamped in the same place where hee met them, being two furlongs from Persepoli. The Greeks drew themselves together to consult what was best for them to demaund of Alexander, and when some were of opinion to aske dwelling places within Asia, and other had more mind to return vnto their countries, Entimeon Cemeus spake thus vnto them.

We that were euen now ashamed to put our heads out of the prison and darknesse we were in, to make sute for our owne aide and reliefe, are become of such simplicitie, that we presently desire to shewe vnto Greece as a pleasant spectacle, our infirmities and maymes, whereof we haue as much cause to be

be ashamed, as to be sorrowfull. You may thinke that such beare their miseries which can find the means to hide the same, and that there is none so familiar a counsellor to men that be vnfortunate, as solitarinesse and forgetfulnesse of their former estate. But they which make an account of their friends pittie and compassion, know not how soon their teares wil drie vp: no creatures can love faithfully whom they abhorre. For as calamitie of his nature is quarellous, so felicitie is alwaies proud, and euery one doth vnderstand his owne fortune, when he iudgeth of an other mans: For except we had all bene in miserie, one of vs long agoe had bene wiser than the other. What maruel is it the thought of men in felicitie seeke alwayes their equals? Mine opinion is therefore, that wee (as men long agoe were as dead in this life) seeke a place wherein wee may hide our maimed members, and whereas exile may hide our horrible scarres. If we shall returne into our cuntry, being in this case, how can we but be vngratefull to our wiues whom we maimed young? Or shall our children or our brethren acknowledge vs being prison slaues, and though all things should there succeed as we would wish, yet how small a number of vs be able to trauell through so many countries?

cries: How is it possible for vs that be here banished into the vittermost bounds of the Orient, aged, impotent, and maimed, to suffer those things which haue tyred men that were in force and victorious? It is to be asked what shall become of our wiues, whom chance and necessitie hath gotten vnto vs heere for the onely comfort of our imprisonment? What shall we do with our children we haue begotten here, take them with vs, or leaue them behind vs? If wee returne with such as we haue here, none of those in *Greece* will acknowledge vs: and shall we then be forced to leaue those comforts we haue already being vncertaine whether we shall come to those we seeke or no? Verily much better it were for vs, to hide our selues amongst the which haue bene acquainted with vs in our miserie.

These were Entymeon his words: But Thearus of Athens reasoned to the contrary.

There is no creature (quoth he) in whom remaineth any sparke of honestie, that will esteeme vs by our outward shape, seeing that our calamity is not come of nature, or by our owne deseruing, but through misfortune, and our enemies crueltie. Such as be ashamed of fortunes chaunces, are well worthy

to suffer misadventure. They giue a grieu-
 sentence vpon the state of mans mortallitie,
 and dispaire much of mercie, that denie the
 compassion to men in miserie. Now there-
 fore since the Gods haue offered to you the
 thing which ye durst neuer haue wished for,
 that is, your countrey, your wiues, and your
 children, being the things which men esteeme
 more then life, and redeeme oftentimes with
 death: why do you doubt for the enioyme-
 nt of those things to breake of this imprison-
 ment? I iudge the ayre of our owne Coun-
 trey most naturall to vs, where men thinke
 is an other manner of liuing, other custome,
 other religion, and an other tongue, which
 for the pleasantnesse is coueted of the bar-
 barous Nations. What great things then be
 those things ye would willingly leaue, the
 want of which onely is the cause of your mi-
 serie? My opinion is plaine, that we visit our
 countrey & our home, and not refuse so good
 a benefite as *Alexander* hath profered vnto
 any be deteined with the loue of such wiues
 and children as they haue gotten here in
 uirude, let such be no impediment to other
 that of all things esteeme most their native
 countrey.

There were but fewe of thy opinion:
 custome that is of greater force than nature.

peruailed in that matter. They agreed to de-
 mand of *Alexander* the gift of some place to
 inhabite in, and there chose out an hundred
 to be suters vnto him in that behalfe. When
Alexander perceiued them comming towards
 him, thinking that they would haue requir-
 ed the thing that he conceived in his minde,
 said:

I haue appointed to euery one of you (quod
 he) beasts to carry you, and a thousand Deni-
 ers, and when you shall come to *Greece*, I wil
 so much prouide for you, that excepting
 your misfortune, no other shall thinke them-
 selues in better case then you.

But when he sawe them looke still towards
 the ground, and that they neither lifted vp
 their eyes nor spake one word, he enquired
 the cause of their heauines. When *Entymeon*
 rehearsed againe those things in effect which
 he had spoken before in Councell. The King
 therefore pittying no lesse their demaund then
 he did their misfortune, commanded thre M.
 Deniers to be giuen to euery one of them, and
 garments besides, with cattell and corne,
 whereby they might till and sow the land that
 should be appointed vnto them. The next
 day he assembled all the Captaines of his Ar-
 my together, and shewed them that there
 was no little more enemy to the *Greekes*,

The fift booke

then the same that was the chiefe seate of the
 auncient Kings of Perse, from whence all the
 great Armies had bin sent into Greece : and
 holo Darius first, and after Xerxes, had come
 out of that place to moue their bruiust Warre
 against Europe, with the destruction of which
 Citie hee thought good to reuenge their prede-
 cessors. The inhabiteurs had abandoned the
 Citie, and fledde where feare did driue them.
 Whereupon the King straightwayes brought
 in all his footmen to the spoyle thereof. He
 had before that time wonn many Cities, some
 by force, & some by composition, that were full
 of riches, and Princes treasure, but the abun-
 dance of that Citie did exceed all the rest, as in
 the place where the Persians had laide their
 whole substance. Gold and siluer was there
 found in heapes, and great plentie of rich fu-
 nitures and furniments of houses, not onely for
 necessitie and necessarie vse, but for excesse and
 ostentation: which was so great, that it gaue
 the victors occasion to fight amongst them-
 selues, each taking other for enemies that had
 gotten the richest spoile. The plentie there was
 such, that they could not employ to their vse
 the riches they found, but when they sawe
 things of value, they esteemed them rather
 toke them away: till such time as every one
 coueting to haue a part of euery thing, tare and
 brake

brake asunder the princely robes, and the pre-
 cious plate of curious workmanship, with the
 Images of gold and siluer, which were eyther
 beaten in gobbets, or plucked in peeces, as eu-
 ery one caught hold: nothing was left vn-
 touched, nor nothing carried away whole: cru-
 eltie bearing no lesse rule there then couetous-
 nesse, euery one was so laden with Gold and
 siluer, that they esteemed not the keeping of pri-
 soners, but killed such as they first spared in
 hope of gaine. There were many therfore that
 preuented their enemies hands with voluntary
 death, & diuers y cloathing themselves in their
 most precious apparell, leaped downe from the
 walls with their wiues and children. Certaine
 there were that set their owne houses on fire,
 (which they iudged their enemies would else
 haue done shortly after) because they would
 burne themselves amongst their owne family.
 At length the K. did forbid any violence to bee
 done to women, & that no man should meddle
 with any thing pertaining to them. The sum
 of money taken within this citie, was greater
 then any man could well credite: but eyther
 we must doubt of the rest, or else beleue that
 hath bin left in memorie, how that the treasure
 there found, amounteth to a C. and xx. M. Ta-
 lents: which treasure, because Alex. purpo-
 sed to employ in his wars, caused horse and ca-
 mels

meis be brought from Susis & Babilon to carry the same. The taking of the citie of Persagadis, wherein was found 6000. talents, was an increase to this sum, which Cittie being built by Cyrus, was yielded up by Gobares y had the keeping thereof. Alexander left in the Castle of Persepolis three M. Macedons in garrison, vnder Nicarides Captaine of the same, and reserued to Tiridates that deliuered him the Treasure, the same honour that hee enjoyed with Darius. Leaving in this Citie the greater part of his Army, with his carriages, vnder the rule of Parmenio and Craterus: he with a M. horsemen, and a band of footemen, without any baggage, went to visit in the winter season the inward parts of Perse. There he was vexed and troubled with stormes & tempests that were in maner intollerable: but yet he letted not to goe forwards in his enterprize, to the place that he appointed. In his journey he came vnto a Countrey that was covered all with snowe, and frozen by force of the great cold. The wildernesse and desert maner thereof, put the souldiers that were wearied with trauell in such a feare and terror, that they imagined to haue seene the uttermost bounds of the world. For when they beheld all things waste, and no signe appearing of mans habitation, they were amazed, and made request

quest to returne againe, before that the light and the elements should faile them. The King would not chastise them being in his terror, but leaped from his horse, and went on foot in the snowe and the yce: Which thing when his friends sawe, they could not for shame but follow, then the Captaines did the like, and finally the souldiers. The King was the first that did breake the yce, and made himsele a way, whose example the rest did follow. At length, having passed the Woods that were without way, they found here and there some appearance of habitation, and perceiued flockes of sheepe. When the inhabiteurs that dwelled in cottages dispartled thereabouts, sawe men comming, whom they iudged to be theyr enemies, thinking they had bene enclosed about, slew such as were not able to follow them, and fled to the wilde Mountaines that were full of snowe. But at length by communication with such as they tooke prisoners, their wildernesse was somewhat mitigated, and they yielded themselves to Alexander, whom he hurted not any kinde of way. When he had destroyed all that part of Perse, and brought the townes vnder his obedience, hee came into the Countrey of the warlike Gardons, which differ much from the rest of the other Persians in their manner of lining. They with their wines

and children did inhabite within Caves in the
mountaines, and liued with the flesh of sheepe,
and wilde beasts. For the women according to
their kinde, had any more appearance of meek-
nesse or mildnesse then the men, either in their
personages or dispositions. But their curled
haire did hang downe before upon their faces,
and theyr garments came but to their knees.
The bands of theyr Slings were fillets for
their foreheades, which they vsed both for orna-
ment, and for defence. This nation for all their
vnciuill and rude manner, could not escape to
be subdued with the same force of fortune that
others were. So that the 30. day after he de-
parted from Persepolis, hee returned thither
again. Then he gaue rewards to his friends,
and to all the rest according to theyr deser-
uing, distributing in manner all the riches
which he found within that Cittie. But all his
excellent vertues of the minde, his princely
qualities, wherein hee excelled all Kings, both
that constancie in all daungers and perils, that
celeritie in deuising and performing his enter-
prises, his promise keeping towards the peo-
ple, his clemencie towards prisoners, and that
temperance in lawfull and accustomable
pleasures, were all defaced through the intol-
erable desire and delight hee had in drinking.
For notwithstanding that his enemy which

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contended with him for the Empire, did chief-
ly then prepare for the warres, and was gather-
ing of his power together: and although the
people newly conquered, had not yet receiued
quiet subiection, yet he gaue himselfe conti-
nually to feasting and banqueting, where wo-
men were ever present, not such to whom
men had respect of honestie, but harlots, which
had there more libertie, then was becoming
in the company of men of war. Amongst them
there was one Thais, who vpon a day in her
drunkennesse, affirmed to Alexander, that hee
should wonderfully winne the fauour of the
Greekes, if he would commaund the pallace
of Persepolis to be set on fire. The destruction
whereof (she said) they greatly desired, for so
much as the same was the chiefe seate of the
Kings of Perse, which in times past had de-
stroyed so many great Citties. When the
drunken harlot had giuen her sentence, there
were other present, who beeing likewise drun-
ken, confirmed her words. Alexander then
that had in him more inclination of heate then
of patience, said: Why do we not then reuenge
Greece, and set this Cittie on fire? They were
all chased with drinking, and rose immediately
vpon those words to burne that Cittie in their
drunkennesse, which the men of war had spa-
red in their farie. The King himselfe fell, and
after

after his ghests, his seruants, and his Con-
cubines, set fire in the Pallace, which being
builded for the most part of Cedar trees, be-
came suddenly on a flame. When the army that
was encamped neare vnto the citie sawe the fire,
which they thought had bene kindled by some
casualtie, came running to quench the same a-
gaine. But when they sawe the king there pre-
sent nourishing the fire, they powred downe
the water which they brought, and helped like-
wise the matter forwards. Thus the Pallace
that was the head of the whole Orient, from
whence so many Nations befoze had fetched
their lawe to liue vnder, the seats of so many
kings, the onely terroure sometime of Greece,
the same that hath bene the sender forth of the
Furies of 9. M. ships, and of the Armies that
overflowed all Europe, that made bridges o-
uer the sea, and undermined mountains when
the Sea hath now his course: was consumed
and had his end, and neuer rose again in all the
age that did ensue. For the kings of Macedon
bled other Cities, which be now in the Persi-
ans hands. The destruction of this Citie was
such, that the foundation thereof at this day
could not be found, but that the River of A-
raxes doth shewe where it stood, which was
distant from Persepolis 20. furlongs, as the in-
habitants rather do beleue then know. The

Page

Macedons were ashamed that so noble a citie
was destroyed by their k. in his drunkenness:
yet at length it was turned into an earnest
matter, and were content to thinke it expedi-
ent that the Citie should haue bene destroyed
after that maner. But it is certaine, that when
Alexander had taken his rest, and was be-
come better aduised, he repented him of his
doing, and said: That the Persians should
haue done the Greeces moze harme, if it had
bene his chaunce to haue reigned in Zerxes
stead. The next day he gaue 30. Talents for
a reward to him that was his guide into Per-
se, and from thence he tooke his iourney into
Media, where a new supply of Souldiers
(of whom Plato of Athens had the conducti-
on) came to him out of Cilicia, being 5. hun-
dred footmen, & a thousand horsemen. When he
had by this meanes encreased his power, he
determined to pursue Darius, who was come
to Ecathana, the head citie of Media, and was
purposed from thence to haue passed into Bac-
tria. But fearing to be prevented by the speed
his enemies made, altered his purpose and his
iourney. Alexander was not come neare him
by a 1500. furlongs, but he could not thinke
any distance sufficient to defend him against
his celeritie, and therefore prepared himselfe
rather to fight then to flye. He had with him
thirtie

thirtie M. footmen, amongst whom there were
four M. Grekes, whose fidelitie neuer failed
in all his aduerse fortune. He had also four M.
Archers and slingers, besides three M. three C.
Bactrian horsemen, which were under Bessus
charge, being gouernour both of the Citie of
Bactria and the Countrey. Darius with his
Band withdrew a little from the high way,
and commaunding the varlets, with such as
had charge of the carriage to passe on before,
called a Councell, and spake these words vnto
them.

If Fortune had matched me with cowards,
and with such as esteemed any kinde of life,
before an honest death, I would rather
haue holden my peace, then consumed my
words in vaine. But I haue had greater expe-
rience then I would wish, both of your vali-
ant courage and fidelitie towards me. So that
I for my part ought rather labour to seeme
worthy to haue such friends as you are, then
so doubt whether yee yet remaine the same
men towards me that ye were before. For of
so many thousands that were vnder mine Em-
pire, you onely haue followed and stucked by
mee, when I was twice ouerthrowne in the
field, and twice enforced to flye away, your
fidelitie and your constancie maketh mee
thinke that I remaine still a King. Traytors

and fugitiues raigne in my cities, not for that
they be thought worthy of such honour, but
that you might bee prouoked by their re-
wards to revolt against mee. Notwithstan-
ding, you haue chosen rather to follow me in
my misfortune, then be partakers of the vic-
torers felicitie. You are worthy, whom the
Gods shall reward, if I may not, as vndoub-
tedly they wil. There can no posteritie be
so silent, nor no fame so vngratefull, which
shall not with due commendations extoll
you to the starres. Though I was determi-
ned still to haue fledde, wherevnto my heart
neuer agreed: yet now I haue conceiued such
atrust of your vertue and manhood, that I
purpose to passe against mine enemy. How
long shall I bee as a banished man within
mine owne Dominion, and flye from a strange
and forraine Prince within the bounds of
mine owne Kingdome? when I may hazar-
ding of the battaile, eyther recover that I
haue lost, or else dye an honorable death. Ex-
cept peraduenture it seemeth better to some
men, that I should submit my selfe to mine
enemies will, and by the example of *Ma-
zeus* and *Mithrenes*, receiue by petition, the
dominion of some one Nation: wherein I
iudge that *Alexander* had rather follow the
inclination of his glory, then of his wrath.

Alexander pursued them, to deliuer him then aliuē into his hands, to win therby his fauour, as a thing which they thought he would esteem greatly. But if they could escape conueniently, then they were in minde to kill Darius, and deuiding the kingdome betwixt them, renew againe the war against the Macedons. They hauing imagined this treason long before in their mindes, Nabarzanes thought this an occasion to make a preparatiue to his wicked intent, by a perswasion which hee there uttered.

I know (quoth he) that I shall speake the thing which in the first appearance shall not be gratefull vnto your eares: but Physicians vse to cure diseases that be great, with sharpe and bitter medicines. And the ship-maisters when they feare a shipwracke, accustome to redeeme such things as may be saued, with the destruction and losse of the rest. Yet this matter that I meane is no perswasion to losse, but a deuice by what meanes yee may preserve your selfe & your kingdome. We make a warre wherein the Gods seeme manifestly to be against vs, and Fortune ceaseth not obstinately to pursue vs. It is needfull therefore that we lay new foundations, and seek out men which haue other fortune. My opinion is therefore, that you deliuer vp your
king.

kingdome vnto some mans hands which shall haue the name of King, so long as your enemies remaine within *Asia*. And when they be once departed (which my minde giueth me to be shortly) he shall restore the same vnto you againe. The countrey of *Bactria* is yet vntouched, the Indians and Sacans bee at your appointment so many people, so many Armies, so many thousands of horsemen and footmen haue their force in readinesse to renew this warre againe. So that a much greater force remaineth then that which is consumed. Why do we then like beasts wilfully run to a destruction that is not necessarie? It is the propertie of such as bee men of courage, rather to despise death then hate the life, and oftentimes by wearinesse of trauell, towards are driuen to take little regard of themselves. But vertue leaueth nothing vnproued. And death being the end of all things, it is sufficient if we go not to it like sluggards. Therefore if we shall go vnto *Bactria*, which is now our next refuge, let vs for the times sake make *Bessus* our King, who is alreadie ruler of that countrey, and when the matters be once brought to some stay, hee shall restore to you the Empire againe, as to the righteous King.

Although Darius perceived not the greatnes

of the mischief that lay hidden vnder his
 ked words, yet was it no maruell though he
 could not abstaine, for he turned towards him
 and said:

Thou vile slaue, hast thou now found out
 time meet to disclose the treason that lieth in
 thy hart? And therewithall pulled out his sword
 to haue slaine him, if Bessus & the other Bactrians
 about him had not letted his purpose.
 These pretended to be sorry for the matter, but
 minded in very deed to bind him, if he had con-
 tinued in his purpose. In the mean season Na-
 barzanes escaped away, and Bessus followed
 after, who immediately did separte the bands
 they had charge of, from the rest of the army,
 because they would vse them a part to their
 purpose. When they were departed, Artaba-
 sus framed his talke according to the estate
 of the time then present, and began to pacifie
 Darius with words, putting him in remem-
 brance how his case was such, that it beyond
 him to beare quietly the foolishnesse or rather
 the error of his own me, for as much as Alex-
 ander was at hand, ouer-soe an enemy to
 them, though there were no discorde nor disor-
 dience. But if we shalbe at variance (quoth he)
 wher he doth pursue vs, our matters shal stand
 in very euill plight. Whereupon Darius en-
 ded somewhat to Artabasus aduise, & there-
 upon

he was minded to remoue, yet because he per-
 ceived euery man to be troubled in minde, re-
 mained still in the same place. But he himselfe
 was so astonied with sorrow and desperation,
 that he kept himselfe close & came not forth of
 his pavilion: wherupon the camp being with-
 out gouernment, the heads not consulting to-
 gether as they did before, there arose amongst
 them great diuersitie of opinions, and motions
 of mind. Which thing when Patron saw, that
 was Captaine of the Greeke Souldiers, he
 willed his men to put on their Armour, to be
 in a readinesse to do as they should be appoin-
 ted. The Persians encamped by themselves,
 and Bessus remained amongst the Bactrians,
 practising to carrie away the Persians into
 Bactria, and to leaue Darius: signifying to
 them the riches of that Region yet vntou-
 ched, and the perill they were in, if they remai-
 ned still. But they were all in maner of one
 opinion, that it was ouer-great an offence for
 them to forsake their Prince. In the means
 season Artabasus executed the Kings office,
 and went amongst the Persians in their lod-
 gings, admonishing & exhorting them, some-
 time apart, and otherwhile altogether, and
 would neuer leaue them, before it appeared
 that they would do as the King would haue
 them. That done, with great paine and diffi-

cultie he perswaded Darius to take his meate,
 and to set his minde vpon his businesse. But
 Bessus and Nabarzanes were so greedie to
 get the gouernment into theyr hands, that
 they resolved to put in execution the thing they
 hadde long conspired betwixt them. For so
 long as Darius was in safegard, they could
 not hope to compass nor attaine so greates
 power and authoritie: the maiestie of a King
 is had in so great veneration amongst those
 Nations: at whose onely name they assemble
 together, and the reuerence vsed to them in
 their prosperitie, cause men to shewe them the
 like obedience in aduersitie. The greatnes and
 power of the countries whereof Bessus and
 Nabarzanes had the rule, not being inferiour
 to any other nations in that part of the world,
 eyther in men, in furniture, or largenesse of
 their territorie, gaue a great encourage vnto
 their wicked dispositions in attempting of
 this matter. For they possessing the third part
 of Asia, were able to make as great a number
 of men, as Darius before had lost. In confu-
 dence wherof, they not onely despised Darius,
 but Alexander himselfe, purposing when
 they were once become Lords of that Coun-
 trey, to reenforce from thence againe the pow-
 er of the Empire, and maintaine the warres
 against the Macedons. When they had long

Devised

devised and debated these things, they deter-
 mined to take Darius by the Bactrian Soul-
 diers, of whom they had the rule, and then to
 send word to Alexander that they reserued
 them on liue, to deliuer him vnto his hands.
 And if so be that Alexander should not accept
 of theyr doings, which indeed they doubted,
 then their purpose was to kill Darius, and
 with their power to flye into Bactria. But
 forasmuch as they sawe that Darius could not
 be taken openly, seeing there were so many
 thousands readie to aide him: and fearing also
 the shew of the Greeks, determined to
 worke by sight the thing that they could not
 bring to passe by force. Their device was to
 counterfeit a repentance of their former do-
 ings, in excusing vnto the King the feare they
 were in. And in the meane season they sent
 certaine to practise with the Persians, and to
 proue their mindes. The souldiers were sus-
 sed too and too with hope and feare. Some-
 times they thought that by leauing of their king
 they should commit themselves to manifest
 ruine and destruction: and againe they remem-
 bered what entertainment was promised them
 in Bactria that lay open for them, where they
 should be receiued with such gifts and riches,
 as they could not well imagine. Whiles Bes-
 sus and Nabarzanes were beating of these

things in their heads, Artabastus came vnto
them, declaring how Darius was well pacifi-
ed, and that they might if they would, bee in the
same estate and degree with him that they
were in before. Whereupon they fell to weep-
ing and purging of themselves, requiring
Artabastus that hee would take vpon him the
defence of their cause, and carrie their request
and submission vnto the King. The night was
consumed in this kinde of businesse. When it
was day, Nabarzanes with the Bactrian sould-
iers stood at the entrey of the Kings lodging,
colouring his priuie treason with a solemne
pretence of doing his dutie. Darius recei-
ued warning to be giuen for his remouing, and
so mounted vpon his Chariot after his ac-
customed maner. Nabarzanes and the other
traitors fell vpon the ground to worship him,
and shed teares in token of repentance, not-
withstanding that they determined shortly
after to put him in fetters: mens nature is so
apt to dissimulation. Darius being of a simple
and gentle nature, was enforced through their
behaviour, not onely to beleue that they pre-
tended, but also caused him to weep for joy:
yet that could not cause the Traytors to alter
their purpose, when they perceiued what kind
of man, and what manner of Prince they
went about to deceiue. Darius doubting no
thing

thing of his perill that was next at hande,
made all the haste he could to escape Alexan-
der, whom hee enely doubted. Patron that
was Captaine of the Grecians, commaunded
his souldiers to put on theyr harneys, which
they carried before in trusses, and to be ready
and attend to euery thing that should be ap-
pointed them. For he vnderstanding the trea-
son that Bessus went about, followed the Kings
Chariot, seeking occasion to speake with him.
And Bessus doubting the same thing, would
not depart from the chariot, but followed rather
as a watch, then a waigher. Patron therefore
having tarried long, and interrupted often-
times as hee was about to speake, stood in a
flay betwixt feare and fidelitie, beholding the
King in the face. When Darius perceiued
that hee beheld him after that maner, hee wil-
led Bubace his Eunuch that rode next him,
to enquire of Patron if hee had any thing to
say to him. Patron said yea: but his matter
was such as hee would no man should heare.
Then he was willed to come neare, and with-
out any interpretour (Darius vnderstanding
somewhat of the Greeke tongue) Patron said
vnto him.

Syr, of fiftie thousand Greekes that serued
you, there is a small number of vs remai-
ning, which haue continually followed you in

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deferred his purpose to the night following. In the meane season he came to Darius, and gaue him thanks that hee had so warily and with such wisdom avoided the treason of that false Grecian, who being corrupted by Alexander, sought nothing but how to make a present of his head: whereat (hee said) he could not maruell that a mercenarie man should leaue any thing vndone for money: being without any pledge of his honestie, without house and home, banished out of the world, a faint friend, & a doubtfull enemy, tossed here and there at the backe of all men, that will corrupt him. And then he fell to purging of himselfe, calling the Goddes of his Countrey to witnes of his innocencie in the matter. Darius by his countenance seemed to beleue him, yet hee doubted not of the truth of the tale that Patron had told him: but he was come to such a point, that it was as dangerous for him not to beleue his owne men, as to be de- seined. There were 30000. whose lightnesse was feared to haue consented to this conspira- cie: and Patron had but foure M. vnto whom if hee had committed his safegard, and there- by condemned the fidelitie of his owne nation, he saue that then they might haue had thereof a goodly colour and a pretence to perforce the thing they want about, and therefore chose ra- ther

ther to be killed innocently, then to giue any occasion whereby hee should seeme to haue de- serued death. And yet when Bessus purged himselfe, he answered, that he knew there was no lesse iustice in Alexander then manhood, and that they were deceiued that looked for any reward of treason at his hands, knowing there was no sozer punisher nor reuenger of the breach of fidelitie. When the night drew neare, the Persians after theyr accustomed manner put off their Armour, and repaired to the next villages to prouide things necessarie. But the Bactrians as Bessus had command- ed them, stood still Armed. In the meane season Darius had sent for Artabalus, and shewed him what Patron hadde declared. Whereupon Artabalus made no doubt, but that he would straightwaies commit himselfe among the Grekes, thinking that the Persians when the kings peril should be published abroad would ioyne with the Grecians. Yet Darius predestinate to his chaunce, could not beare them any wholesome counsell, nor sought for any helpe in that case, but embzased Artaba- lus as though hee should neuer see him more, and being wet with the feares that one of them let fall vpon another, caused Artabalus to be remoued from him, and because hee would not see his sorow in departing from him, hee covered

covered his face, and fell flat vpon the ground. Then such as were accustomed to the guard of his person, which should haue bene his defence in all perils, fled away, thinking themselves euerweake for such a number of armed men as they supposed to be comming. When there was great solitarinesse within his lodging: for none remained about the King but a fewe Eunuches, that had no place to repaire vnto. When he debated and deuised with himselfe alone, sometime one thing, and sometime another: and by and by he waxed wearie of that solitarinesse which before hee tooke a comfort, and called Bubace vnto him, whom he beheld and said:

Goe prouide for your selues, which according to your duties haue beene true to your Prince: till the last houre. Here I do tarrie for the fatal lawe of my destinie. Peraduenture ye doe maruel, that I do not end mine owne life. I had rather die through other mens wickednesse then mine owne.

After those words, Bubace filled both the Kings lodging, and also the whole campe with mourning and lamentation, and diuers brake into the place where Darius was, and tearing their cloathes, bewailed his case with a great lamentation. When the crye came vnto the Persians, they were so amazed with feare, that they

they durst neither put on their armour, least they might giue occasion to the Bactrians to set vpon them, nor they could not remaine quiet, least they might seeme so wickedly to leaue their King. There were clamours throughout the campe of diuers sorts & tunes, without any head, and without any appointment. Such as pertained to Nabarzanes and Bessus, deceiued by such lamentation as they heard, brought tydings to the rest, that the King had killed himselfe. Wherevpon they repaired thither so fast as they could gallop, and such followed after as they had chosen to be ministers of theys mischiefe. When they were entered into the Kings pavilion, because the Eunuches declared that hee was aliue, they commaunded him to be bound. Thus hee which before was carried in a chariot, and honoured of his men like a God, was made prisoner by his owne seruants, without any sovraine power, and put into a vile Cart couered ouer with beasts skins: and spoile was made of the Kings stuffe, in such sort as if it had bene taken in the warres. And when they had laden themselves with the pray, gotten after so foule a manner, they conueyed themselves into theys countries. But Artabazus with those of whom he had the charge, and with the Greeke souldiers, toke their way towards Parthina, thinking

king to be moze sure any where, then in the fellowship of those traitors. The Persians whom Bessus had burthened with so many faire promises, specially because they had no other man to follow, toynded themselves to the Bactrians, and the third day ouertooke the. But to the intent Darius should not want such honour as was due to his estate, Bessus caused him to be bound with golden fetters: such were the despites that his fortune made him subject vnto. And for that he should not be knowne by his apparell, they couered the Cart with some hides of beasts, and caused unknowne men to drine it forwards. And least by inquirie in the Army he might be discovered, such as had the charge of him followed a farre off. When Alexander heard that Darius was remoued to Echatane, he left the way that he was in, and with all the speed he could make, followed after Darius that was said to be gone into Media. But when Alexander was come to Tadmusa which is the chiefe Citie of Paratacu, it was there shewed him by fugitives that came out of Darius camp, how he was fled with all speed into Bactria: and afterward vnderstood he more certainly by Bagistines of Babilon who could not say directly that Darius was taken as a prisoner, but said that either he was in daunger of death or of captiuitie. Alexander

der vpon those newes called his Captains together, & shewed them that he had a great enterprise, but such a one as the travell was very short. Darius (he said) was not farre off, forsaken of his owne men, & either taken as a prisoner, or else slain. In whose person he shewed the whole victorie to consist, & the greatnesse of the matter to be a reward sufficient of their hast making. They all cried with one voice, y they were readie to follow him where he would go, and y he should not spare their labour nor their perill. Wherevpon he conueyed his Army forwards with marvellous speed, rather in poste, then after y commō order of marching, neither resting day nor night, till they passed 500. furlongs, & came to the bridge where Darius was taken. There Melun, Darius Interpreter, who by reason of his sicknesse could not follow the army, was taken through Alexanders captivity, who seining that he fled from his master, declared the whole matter: but how great was his desire was to ouertake his enemies, it was necessarie for him to giue his men rest of their travell: so that determining to leaue the rest of his Army behinde, he chose out 10 thousand horsemen, and added to them three called Dimichas that were footemen, he armed them, but yet riding on horseback, and when the matter and place required, lighted

and fought on foote. When Alexander was taking order about these things, Orsellus and Mithracenes which for the hatred they bore to Bessus for his treason, fled from him, declaring to the King that the Persians were but 500. furlongs off, and profered to guide him by a nearer way. Their coming was gratefull to the King: for by their conduction in the beginning of the night, hee tooke his journey with such horsemen as he had appointed, willing his foote battaile to follow after with all speed possible. Hee marched forwards in a square battaile, and kept such an order, that the first might ioyne with the last, and such as came behind relieved them that went before. When they had passed 300. furlongs on their way, Broculus the sonne of Mazeus, that sometime had bene Gouvernour of Syria, met Alexander, and declared that Bessus was within two hundred furlongs, marching with his men out of all order, as one that did doubt no doubts. It seemed to him (hee said) that they went towards Hircania: wherefore if haste were made, they might soon be overtaken, and found disparckled here and there out of all array. And by reason he affirmed also that Darius was yet alive: Alexander that was hette before in his pursute, was with his words much more pricked forwards, so that

hee caused them to put spurs to their horses, and passed forwards a gallop, going so farre sooth, that they might heare the noyse of their enemies as they marched. But the dust that did rise, dimmed their sight: and therefore hee stayed a while till the dust was banished away. Then both Bessus perceived the Macedons, and they saw the Persians as then fled. Notwithstanding they had not bene able to haue matched with them, if Bessus had had as great courage to fight, as he had to betray his master. For besides that they exceeded the Macedons in number and power, they were wearied and sore travelled, should haue had to do with them that were lustie and fresh. But the name of Alexander and his fame, which was of great moment euer in the warres, put them in such feare, that they could not stay themselves. Then Bessus and other that were partners of the conspiracie, came to the Cart where Darius was, and perswaded him to leape on horseback, and flye from his enemies that were at hand. But he crying out that the Gods were come to his reuenge, and calling for the assistance of Alexander, said: that in no wise he would goe with Traytors: whereupon they were so stirred to wrath, that they threw Darts at him, and left him wounded in many places of his body. They thrust in the
 S brasse

beasts that drew the Cart, to the intent they should not be able to passe forwards, and slew his two servants that did attend upon him. When they had committed this act, they thought it expedient to disperse themselves in their flying. And so Nabarzanes took his way to Hircania, & Bessus to Bactria, with a few horsemen that each of them had in their company. When their soldiers were forsaken of their captaines, they scattered here and there, where hope and feare did leade them. There were onely five C. horsemen which assembled themselves together, and stood in a mannering whether it were better to resist or to flye. Alexander vnderstanding the feare his enemies were in, sent Nicanor besoze with part of his horsemen to keepe them occupied, and he with y^e rest followed after. There were slaine to the number of 3. M. of such as stood at their defence, and the rest were driuen in flocks like beasts: from killing of whom Alexander commaunded his men to abstaine. Amongst al the prisoners there was none that was able to shewe the Cart that carried Darius: for every one was so desirous to finde him, that as they sawe any Cart, they sought him therein: and yet they could perceiue by no meanes where he was become. Alexander made such haste, that scarcely 3. M. horsemen followed

followed him of all his number: but the great number of the Persians fell into their laps that followed behinde. It is scarcely credible to bee beleued, that there should be more prisoners taken, then there were men to take them. But fortune in that feare had so taken away their sence, that they could not consider their owne multitude, nor the small number of their enemies. In the meane season, the beasts y^e drew Darius waggon, hauing no man to gouerne them, were swarued out of the high way, and wandering here and there, had drawne Darius 4. furlongs from the place where hee was wounded, into a valley where they fainted, by reason of their heat and their hurts. There was a spring at hand, which certaine y^e knew the Countrey had shewed to Polistratus a Macedon, that was ouercome for thirst. And whiles he was drinking water out of his helmet, hee espied the beasts that were thrust in with darts, and maruelling that they were not rather carryed away, then hurt after that manner: Hee looked and found in the soule Cart the bodie of a man halfe alive, and at length perceiued it was Darius that lay there sore wounded, and drawing of his breath. Then Polistratus brought to him a Persian whom he had taken prisoner. Whom when Darius knew by his voyce, to be of his Countrey,

trey, said : that he tooke it for a comfort of his present fortune, that he should speake before he dyed to one that understood him, and not utter his last words in vaine. He required him to declare vnto Alexander,

That though hee had neuer deserued any thing at his hands, yet it was his chance to die greatly his debtor, and had thanks to giue him, for the fauour and goodnes that he had shewed towards his mother, his wife, and his children, to whom he had not onely granted life, but also the reuerence of their former estate and dignitie, whereas he of his kinsmen and friends, to whom he had giuen both life and lands, was now by them bereaued of all. He prayed therefore that he might alwayes be victor, & that the Empire of the whole world might come into his hands, requiring that hee would not neglect to take reuengement of so foule an act, not only for his cause, but for example and the loue of other Princes, which should be a thing honourable vnto him, and profitable in time comming.

When he had spoken these words, he fainted, and calling for water, after he had drunke, said to Polistratus that presented it vnto him :

Whatsoeuer thou art, this is vnto me the last miserie in all my aduerse chaunce, that I am not able to requite thee this benefite. But

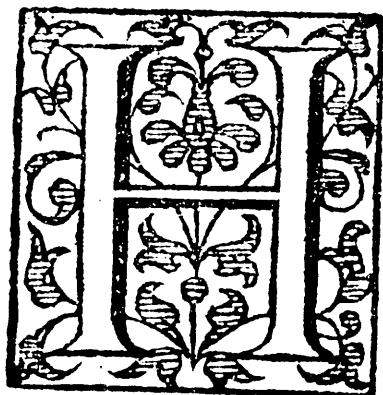
Alex.

Alexander shall reward thee, and the Gods shall requite him for his great humanitie and clemencie shewed towards mine. Vnto whom in my behalfe thou shalt giue my hand as a pledge of a Kings promise.

And hauing spoken these words, and giuen Polistratus his hand, he dyed. When his sayings were reported to Alexander, he repaired where the dead corps lay, and there bewailed with teares, that it was his chaunce to dye a death so vnworthy for so great an estate, and taking off his owne cloake to couer the dead corps withall, adorned the same with al things that pertained to a King, and sent it to his mother Sifigambis to be buried, in such sort as the countrey maner was to burie Kings, and to be laid amongst the rest of his predecessors.

Here the third part of the sixth booke doth want, wherein was contained the cause of the Warre betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons: with the preparation of both Nations to the battaile that was fought betwixt Antipater, Alexanders Lieftenant in Macedonia, and the King of the Lacedemonians.

The sixt booke of Quintus Cur-
tius, of the acts of *Alexander the*
great King of Macedon.



He pleased forwarde
where the fight was most
dangerous, & seeing such
as made most resistance,
put the greater part of his
enemies to flight. When
such as were victors be-
fore began to flye, till they had drawne their e-
nemies greedily following the, out of y^e straight
into a more plaine ground. In the retire many
of them were slain: but when they had once re-
couered such a ground where as they might
stay and fall in order, the battailes ioyned e-
qually again on both sides. Amongst them all
the kings of y^e Lacedemonians appeared most
notable in all mens eyes, not so much by the
beautie of his Armo^r and goodly personage, as
through the greatnesse of his courage, wherein
only he could not be overcome. He was laid to
on all parts, both neare at hand, and a far off.
Yet for all y^e, he endured long in armes against
his enemies, auoyding their strokes part with
his

his target, and part with his body, til such time
as he was thrust through both thighes with
a speare, when by great effusion of bloud he
was not able any longer to endure the fight:
then the esquires for his body took him up up-
on his target, and carried him into their camp
that with great paine endured the styrring of
his wounds. The Lacedemonians for all their
kings departure gaue not over the fight, but
as soone as they could recouer any ground of
aduantage, they closed themselves in battaile
together, and receiued stoutly they^r enemies
that came full vpon them. There is not found
in any memorie, of a battel more vehemently
fought then that, where the armies of two na-
tions that were most excellent in the warres,
contended togethers for the victorie, not yet
enclining to any part. The Lacedemonians
called to minde they^r auntient manhood and
prowesse, and the Macedons considered their
present estimation they hadde in the world.
The Lacedemonians strived for their liber-
tie, and the Macedons for the soueraigntie: the
one partie lacked a Captaine, and the other
came to fight in. The manifold aduentures
and chaunces that fell that day, encreased
both the hope and feare of both parties: for-
tune as it were of purpose bringing such va-
liant men to fight togethers, neither of them

preailing vpon other. But the straightnesse of the place wherein they fought, did not suffer them to ioyne with their whole force at once: for more were beholders then fighters, & such as stood without daunger, encouraged the others with their crie. At length the Lacedemonians began to faint, & scarcely able for sweating to sustaine their Armes, began to draw backe, to haue the more libertie to flee from their enemies that preailed sore vpon them.

When they were once broken and scattered abroad, the victors pursued after. And passing the place whereupon the Lacedemonians battaile was first arraunged, made a sore pursuits vpon Agis: who seeing his men fleeing, & his enemies approach at hand, willed his men to let him downe: where stretching himselfe, to seele if the force of his body could answer vnto his heart, when he found himselfe vnable to stand, remaining vpon his knees put on his helmet, and couering his body with his tarket, shaked his speare, and prouoked his enemies to draw neare, if any were desirous of his spoile: but there was not one that preailed neare him, but did cast darts a far off, which he alwaies tooke and threw at his enemies again, till such time as hee was thrust into the bare breast with a speare. But when the same was pulled out of the wound, hee fainted, & bowing himselfe

himselfe vpon his Target, shortly after fell downe dead, bloud and life failing both together. There were slaine of the Lacedemonians five hundred threescore & 40. and of the Macedons not passing three hundred. But there was scarcely any of them that escaped vnwounded. This victorie brake the hearts not onely of the Lacedemonians & of their confederates, but also of other which lay in waite looking for the successe of that warre. Antipater was not ignorant how the countenances of such as did gratifie his victorie, differed much from the intents of their hearts: but desirous to finish the warres that was begun, perceiued it necessarie for him to dissemble and suffer himselfe to bee deceived. And though he reioyced much in the fortune of the thing, yet hee feared the enuie that might ensue thereof, being a greater matter then the estate of a Lieutenant did beare. For Alexander was of such a nature, that hee desired that his enemies had won the victorie, shewing manifestly that he was not contented with Antipaters good successe: thinking that what honour so euer chanced to an other man, was a derogation to his owne glory. Antipater therefore which knew full well his humacke, durst not vse the victorie according to his owne will, but assembled a Councell of Greekes, to aduise what they thought expedient.

ent. The Lacedemonians made no other request, but that they might send Embassadors vnto Alexander, which vpon their repaire to him and their sute made, obtained a generall pardon for all men, saving for such as were the authours of the rebellion. The Megapolitans, whose citie did abide the siege, were compelled to paie as a fine for their rebellion 20. talents to the Athenians, and the Aetolians. This was the end of the warre, which being suddenly begun, was ended before that Alexander had ouerthrowne Darius at Arbella. As soon as his minde was deliuered of those present cares, as one that could beare better the wars then quietnesse, he gaue himselfe all to pleasures, by the vices whereof ensuing he was overcome, whom no power of the Persians or any other was able to subdue. He was giuen to banquetting out of season, and to a fond delight of drinke, and watching in playes among flocks of Concubines, that drew him into straunge manners and customes. Which he following as things better then his countrey vsages, offended thereby greatly, both the eyes and the hearts of his nation, & caused many y^e loued him before entirely, to hate him then as an enemy. For the Macedons y^e were obstinate in keeping their owne discipline, and accustomed not to be curious, but so scarce in their

of Quintus Curtius. 154
their diet as might suffice nature, when they sawe him goe about to bring in amongst them the vices of those nations which they had subdued: conspiracies then began to be made against him, mutenie rose amongst the souldiers, and euery one complaining to another, freely vttered their griefes, whereby he was prouoked to wrath, to suspition and suddaine feare, diuers other inconueniences ensuing therevpon, which shall be declared hereafter. Alexander being giuen as it hath bene sayd before to vnreasonable banquetting, wherein he consumed both day and night: When he was satisfied of eating and drinke, passed over the time with playes and pastimes. And not contented with such Musicians as hee brought out of Greece, caused the women that were captiue, to sing before him such songes as abhorred the ears of the Macedons not accustomed to such thinges. Amongst those women Alexander spied one more sad then the rest, which with a certaine shamefastnes did strue with that brought her forth. She was of excellent beauty, and through her shamefastnes her beautie was augmented. Because shee did cast her eyes towards the earth, couering her face so much as she might, gaue suspition for him to thinke that she was come of great nobilitie, then y^e she ought to be brought

brought into such kind of pastimes. And there-
 fore being demanded what she was, she shew-
 ed her selfe to bee the spouse of Occhus that
 lately reigned in Persie, and the wife of Hi-
 taspis, which was Darius kinsman, and had
 bene his lieutenant ouer great Armies. There
 yet remained in the kings heart some small
 sparkes of his former vertue. For in respect
 of her estate, being come of a kings blood, and
 the reuerence he bare to such a name, as the
 spouse of Occhus, commaunded her not on-
 ly to be set free, but also to bee restored to her
 goods and her husband, whom he willed to be
 sought out. The next day he appointed Ephe-
 stion to bring all the prisoners vnto the Court,
 where inquiring of the nobilitie of euery one,
 commaunded them which were descended of
 noble blood, to bee seuered from the rest, a-
 mongst whom they found Oxartes brother to
 Darius, that was no lesse noble of minde then
 of blood. There was made of the last spoyle
 26. M. talents, whereof 12. M. were consu-
 med in rewards amongst the men of warre:
 and the summe amounted to no lesse value
 that was conveyed away by them that had
 the keeping thereof. There was one Oxida-
 res a noble man of Persie, that was put in
 prison by Darius, & appointed to suffer death,
 whom Alexander deliuered, and gaue vnto
 him

him the seignorie of Media, and receiued Da-
 rius brother amongst y^e number of his friends,
 reseruing to him all the accustomed honour of
 his nobilitie. Then they came to the Countrey
 of Parthenia, then being but obscure and vn-
 knowne: but now the head of all those Coun-
 tries which lye vpon Tigre and Euphrates, and
 be bounded with the red sea. This Countrey
 being fruitfull and abundant of all things,
 was taken by the Scythians, which posses-
 sing part of Asia and Europe, bee troublous
 neighbours to them both. The Scythians,
 which inhabit vpon the Bospheron sea, are al-
 cribed to bee in Asia. And such as be in Europe
 possesse y^e countries lying on y^e left part of Thra-
 ce, so far as Boristhenes: and from thence right
 forth so far as the Riuer Thanais, that parteth
 Europe and Asia. It is certain y^e the Scythes,
 of whom the Persians be descended, came not
 from Bospherō, but out of Europe. There was
 a noble Cittie in those dayes called Hecaton-
 philos, builded by the Greeces, where Alex-
 ander remained with his army, conveying vi-
 tualles thither from all parts. Amongst the
 souldiers lying there in idlenesse, there arose
 suddenly a rumour, entered into their heads
 without any certaine authour or beginning.
 The rumour was, how that Alexander satisfi-
 ed with the acts he had done, purposed im-
 mediately

mediately to returne into Macedon. The same was not so sone sone abroad, but that they ran like mad men to their lodgings, and trussed vp their baggage and their stuffe: making such preparation to depart, that euery man iudged warning had bene giuen to remoue, and that the thing had bene done by appointment. The tumult that did rise in the Campe by lading of carriages, and by the calling the one made vnto another, came vnto the Kings eares. This rumour obtained the soner credit, by the dispatch of certaine Greeke souldiers, whome Alexander had dismissed into their Countrey, with the gift of five H. deniers to euery horseman: thereupon taking occasion to think that the war had bene at an end. Alexander, whose purpose was to passe into India, and the vttermost bounds of the Orient, was no lesse afraid of this matter then the case required. And therefore calling befoze him the captaines of his army, with the teares in his eyes, made a great cōplaint vnto them, that in the middle course of his glozie he should thus be pulled backe, and compelled to returne into his Countrey, rather as a man vanquished then as a victozer. Which misfortune, he said, he could not impute to his souldiers, nor iudge that their cowardnes did giue impement to his proceedings, but that it was

only

only the enuy of the Gods that put so suddaine a desire of their country into the minds of valiant men, which within a while should haue returned with greater glozy and fame. Thereupon they all promised to trauaile in reformation of the matter, offering themselves in all things (were they neuer so difficult) to do as he would haue them. And they promised also, the obedience of the souldiers, if so be that he would make some gentle and apt oration to pacifie them, which were neuer yet sene depart from him in any desperatiō or disturbance of mind, if they once beheld the cheerfullesse of his countenance, & the corage proceeding from his heart. He promised so to do, and required at their hands to prepare in the multitude an aptnesse to giue him eare. When all things were prepared which were thought expedient for the purpose, he assembled all his army together, and made this Oration vnto them. When ye consider (my souldiers) the greatness of the acts which ye haue done, and the manyfolde conquests that yee haue made, it is no maruaile at all, that ye be enclined to quietnesse, and fully satisfied with fame, and glorie. For leauing to speake of the Illirians, and Triballes, of Boetia, Thracia, and Sparta, of the Acheians, and Peloponnesians, whom I haue subdued, part in person,

and

and the rest by appointment: I wil not make
rehearfall of the war we began at *Helleſpont*,
and how we deliuered from ſeruitude of the
barbarous Nations, *Ionas* and *Acolides*, and
got vnto our poſſeſſion, *Caria*, *Ledia*, *Cappa-*
docia, *Phrigia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Pamphilia*, *Pſides*,
Cilicia, *Siria*, *Phenices*, *Armenia*, *Perſe*, *Mede*,
and *Parthema*. We haue gotten more Coun-
tries then other haue taken Citties: and yet
(I am ſure) the multitude haue cauſed me to
leauē ſome of them vnrehearſed. If I could
thinke that the poſſeſſion of theſe lands that
wee haue conquered in ſo ſhort time could
remaine ſure vnto vs, then (my ſouldiers) I
would, though it were againſt your willes,
breake from you to viſit my houſe and my
home, to ſee my mother, my ſiſters, and my
counrey men, to enioy there the land and
glory that I haue gotten with you: where as
the ioyfull conuerſation of our wiues, our
children, and parents, peace, quietneſſe, and
a ſure poſſeſſion of things gotten through
our valiantneſſe, doo tarry for vs, as large re-
wards of our victorie. But if we will confeſſe
the truth, this new Empire which wee haue
not yet at commaundement, but is kept as it
were by way of entreatie, dooth require a
time, that this ſtiſſe necked people may learn
to beare our yoake, and by framing their diſ-
poſitions

poſitions to a more humanitie, bring their
cruel nature to a more ciuil conuerſation. Do
we not ſee that the corne in the field asketh
a time for his riping, and though the ſame be
without ſence / yet hath it his courſe to be
brought to perfection? do you belecue that ſo
many nations not agreeing with vs in religi-
on, in cuſtome, nor in uſe of tongue, accuſto-
med to the empire & name of another man,
wil be conquered and brought to ſubiectiō
with the winning of one battel? No truſt me,
they be kept vnder with the feare of our po-
wer, and doo not obey vs of their own good
willes. And they which ſhew you obedience
whē ye be here amongſt them, while you be
aſent wil be your enemies. You muſt thinke
that ye haue to do with wilde beaſts, which
being fierce of nature when they be firſt ta-
ken, muſt be ſhut vp & tamed with time. Hi-
therto I haue reaſoned with you as though
we had conquered the whole dominion that
pertained to *Darius*, which is nothing ſo. For
Nabarzanes poſſeſſeth *Hyrcania*, & the trai-
tor *Beſſus* not only enioyeth *Bactria*, but alſo
threatneth vs. The *Sogdians*, *Dahans*, *Maſſe-*
geres, *Sagans*, and the *Indians*, remaine yet in
their owne libertie & iuriſdiction, which ſhal
not ſee our backes ſo ſoone turned, but they
wil follow vs in the tayles. They all haue a

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certaine

certaine friendship and amitie one with another: but we be all strangers & forreiners vnto them. There is no creature, but that will more gladly be obedient to rulers of his own nation, then to forreiners, be their gouernment neuer so terrible. We are driuen of necessity therefore to win that we haue not, or else to lose that we haue already gotten. As Phisitions in sicke bodies will leaue no humor that may hurt, so likewise we must cut away whatsoever shall be impediment vnto our Empire. Haue you not seene great fires risen of small sparks not regarded? We may not neglect any thing in our enemies, whom the more we despise, the more strong we make them. And because you shall not think it such an impossibility for *Bessus* to make himself king, whereas a king wanteth, you shall vnderstand, that *Darius* came not to his Empire by inheritance, but got into the seate of *Cyrus* by the benefit of *Bagoas* his Eunuch. We commit an heynous offence (my Souldiers) if wee make war against *Darius*, and put him downe, for the intent to giue his kingdome vnto his seruant: yea, & to such one as attempted so vile an act against his maister, at such a time as he had most need of helpe, and whom we being his enemies would haue spared: he being his subiect, put him in chains as a captiue, and finally

nally slew him, because he should not be preserved by vs. Shall you suffer this kind of man to raign? no, let vs make all the speed we may to see him crucified, and so to shewe vnto all kings & nations a iustice done vpon one, that so vilely falsified his faith. If the report should come vnto you being in your own countries, that the same man were destroying of the Greeke Citie about *Hellestont*, O God how sorie would you be then, & how much would you lament that *Bessus* should enioy that you haue gotten, and vsurpe the rewards of your victory? Then would you make haste to recover your own, then would you bend your selues to the warres. But how much better is it now to oppresse him whiles he remaineth in such feare, and is vncertaine what way to take? Shall wee spare to spend foure dayes iourney to come to him, that haue overtroden such snowes, that haue passed so many riuers, that haue clymed so many Mountaines? to whose iourney the flowing Sea could be no impediment, nor the streight of *Cilicia* could shut vp our way? Now all things are made plaine and open, and wee stand in the entery of our victory. There be but a few fugitiues and killers of their maisters that doo remiane. What more notable woerke can you leaue vnto your

posteritie, to be registred by fame vnto your glory, then to reuenge such as were traytors to *Darius*? You shall thereby shew, that whe you were enemies vnto him, yet your hatred ended with his death, and that no wicked man could escape your hands. Which thing if you bring to passe, how much more obedient do you thinke the Persians shal be vnto you, when they perceiue you to take iust warres in hand, & that it was not *Bessus* name wherewith ye were offended, but with his faults and euil doings.

His Oration was receiued of the Souldiers with such gladnes, that they straightwaies desired him to carry them whither he would. And he that could vse the occasion of theyr good moue, passed through *Parthenia*, and came to the boundes of *Hircania*, leauing *Craterus* with the band, whereof he had the rule, and 6000. horsemen, of whom *Aminas* had the charge, with the like number of Archers, to defende *Parthenia* from the incursion of the barbarous nations. He appointed *Erigonus* with a small power to attend vpon his carriages: willing him to passe with them through the plains Countrey, and he himselfe with his footemen, and with the rest of his horsemen, marched forwarde a hundred and fiftie furlongs,

longs, and encamped in a valley at the entry of *Hircania*. In the same place be great woods full of high and thicke trees, and the botome of the valley is very fruitfull, by reason of the springs that come forth of the rockes. Out of the fote of the mountaines there runneth a riuer called *Zioberis*, which within three furlongs of the head, is diuided by a rocke, standing in the middes of the streame, causing the water to go two sundry waies, which afterwards comming againe into one channell, runneth more violently then before, by reason of the fall from the rockes. And sodainly it sinketh into the ground, and so runneth hidden by the space of 300. furlongs, and then commeth forth againe, as it were out of a new spring, being then in breadth 13. furlongs, and as it runneth forwards, becometh more narrow, and falleth into another streame named *Rhydago*. The inhabitants of the countrey affirmed, that all thinges cast in where the streame sunke into the ground, would appeare and come out againe at the next issue. For the prouing of which conclusion, *Alexander* caused two Bulls to be cast in, where the water entered, whose bodies were found by such as were appointed for the purpose, where the streame brake out againe. In this place he refreshed his army foure dayes, during

ring which time Naberzanes (which was confederate with Bessus in killing of the King) did write Letters to him, to this effect: How that he was no enemy vnto *Darius*, but counsailed him euer to do such things as hee iudged most profitable: and for his faithfull counsaile was put in daunger of his life by him, who went about against all reason to commit the custodie of his person to strangers, condemning therby the fidelitie of his own nation, which they had kept vnspotted towards their Kings the space of 230. yeres: Therefore seeing himselfe in that peril and daunger, tooke counsaile of his present necessitie And alledged that it was alwayes admitted lawfull for a man to kill such an one whom he knew to conspire his death, which was an excuse (hee sayd) wherewith *Darius* satisfied the people, when he had slaine *Bagoas*. Hee alledged that nothing was more deare to mortall creatures then life, for the loue whereof hee was driuen to this extremitie, in committing an act which necessitie rather compelled him to do, then his owne disposition. For in a generall calamitie every man hath his fortune. If he would command him to come to his presence, he said he would not refuse to do it: for he could not feare that so great a King would violate his promise,

seeing

seeing one God is not wont to deceiue another. But if hee should seeme vnworthie to whome hee would giue his assurance, there were many Countries for him to flie vnto. For all men hauing vertue in them, count alwaies that for their countrey, where they make their dwelling place.

Alexander made no stay to giue him his faith, after such sort as the Persians vsed to receiue promise: which was, safely to come and goe. Notwithstanding he marched in order of battaile, sending euer scourers before to discover the ground. The light armed were appointed to the vaward: the *Phalang* followed after, and the baggage behinde. For by reason the same was a warlike nation, and the countrey hard to enter vppon: it caused the King to looke earnestly vppon the matter. The same valley stretcheth out to the Caspian sea, the banks thereof resembling the horns of the Oxen, before it commeth to the full, the Sea lying betwixt them like a great Bay. Vpon the left hand the people inhabit that be called *Cercetes*, which lie open towards the North, and vppon the other part the *Leucostrians*, *Hossynes*, & *Chalibes*, and the plaines of the *Amazones* lye towards the West. This sea which some call the Caspian, & some the *Hircanian* sea, being more sweete then a

ny other, bringeth forth Serpents of a wonderfull bignesse, and fishes differing in colour much from all the rest. There be diuers of opinion, that the lake of Meotis should runne into this sea, which they coniecture of the water, thinking the same to receiue his sweetness of the lake. Towards the North the sea groweth into a flat shoze, and putteth forth his waters farre vpon the land, which rising high, make many meares and plashes. And as by certaine course of the Planets they flowe out, so at a certaine time by an ebbe, they returne in againe, restoring the ground to his former estate. Some beleeue those waters to be no parcell of the Caspian Sea, but that they come out of Inde, and runne into Hircania, which lyeth lowe in the foresaid valley. The King being remoued from that place, marched forwardes twentie furlongs in a wilde desert way, where great woods hung continually ouer their heads, and brooks of water and myze gaue great impediment to theyr iourney. But at length without any impediment of his enemies, he passed those difficulties, and came vnto a moze faire countrey: wherein besides other victualls (whereof it did abound) grewe great plentie of Apples, and the ground was very apt for Vines. There were also plentie of a certaine kinde of

trees

trees much like vnto Dakes, whose leaues were couered with honey, which the inhabitants gather befoze the Sunne rising: for else the moisture would bee dried vp with the heate. When Alexander had passed thirtie furlongs moze forwardes, Phrataphernes met him, yeelding both himselfe, and such other as fled away after Darius death, whom he receiued gently, and came to a towne called Aruas. Whither came Craterus and Erigonus, bringing with them Phradates that had the rule of the Tapurians: whose friendly receiuing and gentle entertainment was cause that many followed his example, in committing themselves to Alexanders mercie. Menape was there made Prince of Hircania, he being a banished man in the time of Occhus, came to King Philip for refuge: and Phradates also was restored to the office hee had befoze. When Alexander was come to the vttermost bounds of Hircania, Artabasus whom hee declared to shewe himselfe alway to his maister, met Alexander with Darius kinsmen and childzen, and with a small band of Greeke Souldiers. The King at his coming profered him his hand, because hee had bene entertained befoze by King Philip, when he was banished by Occhus: but the chiefe cause that he accepted him so well, was for the

conti

continuall fidelitie that he obserued towards his Prince. He being thus gently receiued by Alexander, said vnto him :

Syr, long may you flourish and raigne in perpetuall felicitie. I that reioyce in all other things, with one am chiefly grieued, that by reason of mine olde age, I shall not bee able long to enioy your goodnesse. He was 85. yeares of age, and brought with him nine sonnes borne of one mother, whom he presented before the king, praying God to continue their liues so long as their seruice might be acceptable vnto him.

Alexander was accustomed much to walke on foote, but then least the olde man might be ashamed to ride, hee going on foote, called for horses for them both. When he was encamped, hee sent for the Greekes that Artabasis brought. But they made request first that hee would giue assurance to the Lacedemonians that were amongst them, or else they would take aduise amongst themselves what were best to doe : The same were the Embassadors that the Lacedemonians had sent vnto Darius : which after the battaile ioyned themselves to the Greekes that were in Darius wages. The King willed them to leaue all assurances and compositions, and come to receiue such appointment as hee would giue them.

them. They stood long in a stay, varying in opinions, but at length they agreed so to doe, saving Democrates of Athens, which chiefly had euer oppugned the successe of the Macedons, who despairing of pardon, slew himselfe. But the other as they had determined, submitted themselves to Alexanders will, being 10. M. 5. C. in number, besides 4. score and ten of such as were sent Embassadors vnto Darius. The more part of the Souldiers were distributed amongst the bands to fill up the numbers that wanted, and the rest were sent home, except the Lacedemonians, which hee commaunded to bee put in prison. There was a Nation called Mardons bounding next to Hircania, rude in their manners and vsages, accustomed to liue by theft : They neither sent Embassadors, nor gaue any signification that they would be at Alexanders commaundment : hee tooke thereat great indignation, that any one people should giue impediment to his victorie, and therefore leauing a guard for his carriages, went against them with a strong power. He marched forwards in the night, and by the time that the day appeared, his enemies were in sight. But the matter came rather to an alarum then to any fight. For the enemies were some driuen from the hilles, who flying away, left their villages to

to be sacked by the Macedons. But the army could not passe into the inward parts of the countrey without great trouble and vexation, the same being compassed about with high mountaines, great woods, and desert rocks, and the parts which were plaine, were defended with a straunge kinde of fortification, that is to say, with trees set thicke of purpose, the boughs whereof when they were young, were wreathed one within an other, the tops bowed downe were put into the ground againe, from whence as out of an other roote, there sprung new bzaunches. They would not suffer the same to growe as nature brought them forth, but did knit them so one within an other, that when they were full of leaves they covered cleane the earth. The trees thus wreathed one within an other, enclosed in the countrey as it were with a continuall hedge, and were as snares to intangle such as would goe about to enter. There was no way could be deuised to passe through the same, but only by cutting downe of the wood. And therein they found a great difficultie and much traualle by reason that the wreathing and wrapping together of the boughes, kept them off from the bodies of the trees, and the weaknes of the boughes so yeilded to the strokes, that they could not easily be put asunder. The inhabitants

of the Countrey were accustomed to crepe amongst the bush like wilde beastes, and by priuie sallies bzeake out vpon theyr enemies. Alexander therefore caused his men after the manner of hunters to seeke out theyr lurking places, and killed many of them. But at length hee environed the wood with his soldiers round about, to the intent they might bzeake in at every place, where they should finde an entrie. In doing whereof, many wandered and lost their company in places that they knew not, and were taken prisoners: and amongst them Bucephalus Alexanders horse, whom hee did not esteeme as men do other beastes: for hee would not suffer any other man to leape vpon him: and when the king would ryde, hee would kneele downe vpon his knees to receiue him, so that hee seemed to haue the sence to vnderstand whom he carried. Alexander was more sorrowfull, and styred to a greater wrath for the losse of the horse, then was expedient for such a cause: for searching about to get the horse againe, caused proclamation to be made by an interpreter, that except hee were restored, hee would not leaue one of the Countrey men alive. When they heard this terrible threating, amongst other gifts, they presented vnto Alexander his horse. Yet he was not therewith pacified, but

but commaunded the woods to be cut down,
and the wayes to bee made plaine which he
cut through the woods. This worke went
well forward, that the inhabiteurs despairing
of habilitie to defend their Countrey, yeeled
themselves to the King. Who receiving their
pledges, committed them to the keeping of
Phradates, and from thence the fift day re-
turned againe to his Campe. Where hee gave
to Artabafus the double honour that Darius
did unto him, and sent him home againe into
his Countrey. After that he came to the Citie
of Hircania, where Darius place was. Na-
barzanes upon assurance came thither, bring-
ing with him great gifts, and amongst the
rest presented unto Alexander Bagoas an
Eunuch of singular beautie, being in the first
flower of youth, whom Darius accustomed,
and after Alexander: at whose intercession
specially hee did pardon Nabarzanes. The
nation of the Amazons being neare unto Hir-
cania (as hath bene said before) did inhabite the
plaines of Themyscire about the river of Ther-
modoonta, and had a Queene raigning over
them called Thalestris, which kept under her
dominion all the countries between the mount
Caucasus, and the river of Phasis. Shee for the
great affection shee hadde to see Alexander,
travellled out of her owne Countrey, and being
come

come neare where he was, sent certain before,
to declare that a Queene was come of desire
to visit him, and to make her acquaintance.
When libertie was given her to come to his
presence, shee caused all the rest of her band to
stay, and shee came forwards accompanied
with 300. women. As soone as shee percei-
ved Alexander, shee leaped from her horse,
carrying two Lances in her hand. The Ama-
zones apparell is such, that it doth not cover
all their bodies: for their breasts be bare on the
left side, and their garments which they use to
knit up with a knot, come not to their knees.
One breast they alwaies reserve untouched,
wherewith they nourish theyr women chil-
dren, but their right breasts they use to seare,
to make them more apt to draw their bowes,
and cast their darts. Thalestris looked upon
Alexander with a bolde countenance, and
considered in beholding of him, that his per-
sonage answered not to the same that shee
had heard of his acts. For the barbarous Na-
tions gave great veneration to the maiestie
of the personage, thinking none to bee suffi-
cient for the doing of great actes, but such as
nature had endued with great personages.
It was demanded of her if shee had any re-
quest to make unto Alexander. Whereat
shee abashed not to confesse, that she was come
thither

thither to get children with him: thinking her
selfe a personage worthy of whom hee should
get heires to inherit his Kingdome, wherein
shee couenanted that if it were a woman shee
would keepe it still, and if it were a man
child shee would restore it to the father. A-
lexander enquired of her, if shee would goe
forwards with him in his warres: but there
in shee excused her selfe, that shee had left no
order for the defence of her Kingdome. But
shee continued still in declaration of the cause
of her coming, and required that her hope
therein might not be in vaine. The womans
appetite seemed to be more vehemently gi-
uen to lust then the Kings was, yet shee obtai-
ned of him to stay for her cause, and consumed
thirteene dayes in satisfying of her desire.
What done shee departed to her owne King-
dome, and Alexander went to Parthenia,
which was the place where hee first shewed
manifestly the vices that were in him. There
he turned his continencie and moderation, be-
ing the most excellent vertues appearing in
any kinde of estate, into pride and voluptuous-
nesse, not esteeming his Countrey customes,
nor the wholesome temperance that was in
the blages and discipline of the Kings of Ma-
cedon. For he iudged their ciuil blage and ma-
ner to be our base for his greatnesse: but did
counter

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counterfeit the height and pompe of the Kings
of Pers, representing the greatnes of gods.
Hee was content to suffer men there to fall
down flat vpon the ground and worship him,
and accustomed the victors of so many Na-
tions, by little and little to seruite offices, co-
ucting to make them like vnto his Captiues.
Hee ware vpon his head a Diadem of purple,
interpaled with white, like as Darius was
accustomed, and fashioned his apparell after
the manner of the Persians, without scrupu-
lositie of any euill token that it signified for
the victor to change his habite into the fa-
shion of him whom hee had vanquished. And
though he aduanted that he ware the spoiles
of his enemies, yet with those spoiles he put
vpon him their euill manners, and the inso-
lencie of the minde, followed the pride of the
apparell. Besides he sealed such Letters as he
sent into Europe with his accustomed seale:
but all the Letters hee sent abroad into Asia
were sealed with Darius King. So it appea-
red that one minde could not beare the great-
nesse that appertained to two. He apparelled
also his friends, his Captaines, and his horse-
men, in Persian apparel, wherat though they
grudged in their minds, yet they durst not re-
use it for feare of his displeasure. His Court
was replenished with Concubines: for hee still

maintained three hundred and 60. that belonged to Darius, and amongst them were flocks of Eunuchs accustomed to performe the ble of women. The olde soldiers of Philip naturally abhorring such thinges, manifestly withstood to bee infected with such voluptuousness, and strange customes. Whereupon there rose a general talk and opinion throughout the Campe, that they had lost more by the victorie, then they had won by the war. For when they sawe themselves overcome in such exercise, and foraine customes so to preuaile amongst them, they iudged it a slender reward of their long being abroad, to returne home in the habite of prisoners. They began to be ashamed of their King, that was more like to such as were subdued, then to them that were victorious: and that of a King of Macedon, was become a prince of Perse, and one of Darius Courtiers. When he understood that the chiefe of his friends and his men of war went grievously offended with his doings, he went about to recover fauour againe with gifts and liberalitie, but it is to be thought that the rewards of seruitude bee vngratefull to free men. And therefore least this matter might turne into a sedition, hee thought good to breake the imaginations increased by idleness with the exercise of warre, wherof an apt occasion

occasion

was giuen. For Bessus inuesting himselfe as a King, tooke vpon him the name of Artaxerxes, drawing to his part the Scythians, and other that were the inhabitants of the river of Thanais: which thinges were reported to him by Nabarzanes, whom hee had receiued into his fauour, and given the rule of the country that he had before. When he had determined this new expedition, he found his Army so ouercharged and laden with spoile, and other furnishings of voluptuousnes, that they could not scarcely moue. Wherefore hee commaunded the baggage and stufte of the whole Armie to be brought together in one place, excepting onely such thinges as were very necessary. The place was large & plaine whither the Carts were brought laden: and when euery one stood waiting and musing what hee would command them to do, hee caused the beastes to bee remoued first out of the way, and then set his own fardles on fire, and after all the rest. Whildest these thinges were burning, the owners were on fire to see those thinges consumed, for the sauing where they had oft quenched the flames in cities of their enemies. Yet no man durst lament the losse of his owne blood, seeing they sawe the fire consume the kings riches as well as their own: and the rather to pacifie them, the king

did mitigate their dolour with a brieve oration. Whereupon they that were ever apt for the warres, and ready to do all things, began to be ioyfull, that with the losse of their baggage they had preserved their discipline accustomed in the warres. As they were setting forwards towards Bactria, Nicanor the sonne of Parmenio dyed suddenly, whom euery man greatly lamented: but chiefly the King was so sorrowfull, desiring to haue stayed for the celebration of his buriall, but that want of victuals caused him to haste forwards. Philotas therefore was left behinde with two thousand five hundred souldiers, to performe the ceremonies appertaining to his brothers buriall, and hee himselfe marched towards Bessus. In the way Letters were brought to Alexander from the Princes thereabout, that Bessus was comming towards him with a great Armie, adding therewith that Satribarzanes whom hee had made Prince of the Arrians, was newly rebelled. For that cause (notwithstanding hee was come neere unto Bessus) hee thought it best first to oppresse Satribarzanes: and for that intent he brought forwards his horsemen and footmen that were light armed, to invade him suddenly. His comming was not so private, but Satribarzanes knew thereof, and fledde into Bactria

Bactria with two thousand horsemen. For by reason hee was not able to assemble any more in so short a time, the rest took the next mountaines for their refuge. There was a rocke which towards the west was high and steepe, but towards the East more lowe and easie to be climed upon, which part was full of trees. The same Rocke being in compass thirty and two furlongs, had a fountaine running continually, and in the toppe a greene plaine, where they placed the weaker multitude: but the rest that were apt for defence, being to the number of thirteene thousand, got themselves to the edges of the rocke, and there threw downe stones and logges vpon the Macedons that came to assaile them. Hee left Craterus to besiege this Rocke, and went in person to pursue Satribarzanes. And because hee understood that he was fledde farre off, returned backe againe to the siege of them that were vpon the rocke. First he caused all things to be taken away, that might be any impediment to his men in the assault giuing. But when they came to the bare and steepe Rocke, the labour seemed waste, where nature wrought against them. But he that was of a dispositiō alwaies to strue against difficulties, considering how hard a matter it was to go forwards, and how

dangerous to returne backe againe, did cast in his head all the wayes and devices that could bee imagined, and now fantasied one thing, and then an other, as men be wont w^h that wayes they haue found out first doe not please them. As he stood in a stay in doubt what to doe, fortune did minister vnto him a meane, which neither wit nor reason could inuent. It chaunced that the winde blew sore at the south-west, what time the souldiers had felled great plentie of wood, whereof they thought to make scaffolds to mount vpon against the rocke, and the heate of the Sun had made the same drie. When Alexander perceived the wind to blow after that sort, and the wood lying in that place, conceived by and by his purpose, and willed more Trees to be cut downe, and laid vpon them, putting all other things to it, that were apt to kindle and nourish fire: so that Trees heaped vpon Trees, became as it were a mountaine, so high as the top of the rocke. The same being set on fire in all parts at once, the wind carried the flames into the face of their enemies, and the smoke covered ouer the skie. The noise was then great that the fire made, which burned not onely the trees that were fired of purpose, but also the rest of the wood growing neare there about. The enemies were so tormented with

the flame and heate of the fire, that they were enforced to forsake their place of strength, and attempted to escape away where the fire did give them least impediment. But where the fire gaue place, the Macedons stood in readinesse to receiue them, so that they were consumed and slaine diuers kind of wayes. Some threw themselves downe the rocks, some ran into the midst of the fire, others fell into the hands of their enemies: and a fewe halfe consumed with fire, were taken prisoners. When Alexander had done this act, he returned to Craterus which besieged Artacnan, who hauing prepared all things in readinesse, tarried onely for the kings coming, to give him the honour of the winning of the citie. When Alexander was come, he approached & wals with the towers of timber that he had prepared for the assault, at the sight whereof the inhabitants were so afraid, that they held up their hands from the walles, requiring him to spare them, and execute his wrath vpon Satibarzanes, that was the author of theire rebellion. Alexander pardoned them freely, and not onely leued his siege, but also restored to the inhabitants all things that pertained to them. As he removed from this Citie, there came to him a new supply of souldiers. Zoilus brought out of Grece five hundred horsemen,

and three thousand which Antipater sent out of Illiria. There came a hundred and thirtie Thessalian horsemen with Philip, who also brought of souldiers strangers out of Lidia, two thousand five hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. Alexander having thus increased his power; entred into the countrey of the Dragans, which were a warlike nation, and vnder the government of Nabarzanes, who being of counsell with Bessus in the treason that he committed against his prince, when he heard of Alexanders coming, for feare of the punishment he had deserued, fled into India. Thus had they lyen in campe nine dayes, when Alexander being without feare of any enemye, and invincible against all foraine powers, was brought in perill by treason of his owne people. It chaunced that one Dimnus a man of meane behauiour and authority with his Prince, was greatly inflamed in the loue of a young man called Nichomachus, with whom hee vsed much familiar conuersation. This Dimnus on a time being in a passion (as it well appeared by his countenance) allured this young man into a Temple, where remaining alone together, he declared that he had certaine secrets to shewe him, which in no wise were to be reported againe. Whereby he brought Nichomachus

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in great suspicion what the matter should be: for before he would tell him, he made a protestation by the loue and familiaritie betwixt them, that he would assure him by his oath to keepe the thing secreete, who supposing the matter to be of no such weight, that he ought with perjurie and breaking of his oath to disclose the same againe, sware by the Goddes there present. Then Dimnus opened vnto him, howe there was a treason conspired against the King, which within three dayes should be put in execution, whereof (hee sayd) he himselfe was priue, with diuers men of notorie and estimation. When Nichomachus did heare it to be such a matter, constantly denied then that this promise extended to conceale treason, wherevnto no oath, nor religion could binde a man. When Dimnus did heare him say so, he became in a rage betwixt loue and feare, and clasped the young man by the hande, requiring him with weeping eyes that hee would not sticke to be a partaker in the execution of this conspiracie, or at the least, if his heart would not serue him, that hee would keepe his counsell secreete, in respect that hee had founde such prooue of loue in him, to commit his life into his handes without any further prooue of his fidelitie. But in conclusion, when he perceiued that Nichomachus

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chus would in no wise agree to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred the act, hee used divers meanes to bring him to his intent, one while intreating him with faire wordes, and another while threatening to kill him. He called him coward and traytor to his friend, commending the goodlines of the enterprise, and put him in hope of great preferment, in that hee should be partner of the kingdom they went about to get. When he had proved all these wayes, and yet found him strange, hee thrust his sword one while to Nichomachus throat, and another while to his owne, so that at length by threatening and faire speaking, he brought him to promise, both to keepe his counsell secreete, and also to be assistant to the deed doing. Yet neuerthelesse as one of a constant minde (though for the time present hee seemed to be wonne with the loue of his friend, and become agreable to his requests, chaunged no part of his former purpose. This done, Nichomachus required to know what the men were, that had confederated themselves in so weightie a matter, because the persons (hee saide) were much materiall that should take so great an enterprise in hande.

When Dimnus though hee were in great trouble of mind that hee had brought the matter so farre forth, yet when he heard him alke

the question, reioyced, and thanked him greatly, that hee would so freely associate himselfe with such manner of men, as Demetrius of the priue chamber, Peculaus, Nicanor, Alphabeticus, Loccus, Diocenus, Archelopis, and Amintas. This communication once ended betwixt them, Nichomachus departed, and disclosed all the matter which hee had heard before, to a brother of his called Ceballinus: agreeing betwixt them two, that Nichomachus should remaine still secreete in his Tent, least by his comming to the kings lodging, not being to haue access to the king, the conspirators might perceiue themselves betrayed. Ceballinus repaired to the kings lodging, and tarried before the gate, waiting for some man neare about the king, to bring him to his presence. It fortuned that among many which passed by, onely Philotas the sonne of Parmenio, demaunded why he wayted there: To whom Ceballinus with a bashfull countenance (well declaring the vnquietnesse of his minde) reported all those thinges which he had heard of his brother, requiring him that he would declare the same immediately to the king. Philotas departed from him vnto the king, with whome that day hee had much communication of other things, and yet opened no part of the same matter which was

told

told him by Ceballinus. At night as Philotas came forth, Ceballinus met him at the court gate, and inquired whether he had done his message to the king or not. He excused the matter that he could finde him at no leisure. The next day Ceballinus met him againe, going to the king, and put him in remembrance of that he had tolde him before, to whom he answered that he remembred it well: but yet for all that, he disclosed no part of the matter. Ceballinus began then to suspect him, and intended no longer to deferre the thing, but opened the same to one Metron Maister of the kings Armozie, who immediately conuicid Ceballinus into the Armozie, and went straight to the king which was bathing, and informed him of all that he had heard. Alexander then made no delay, but sent certaine of his garde to take Dimnus, and after came himselfe into the Armozie. As soon as Ceballinus sawe the king, he ranne vnto him with great reioycing, and said: Lo, I haue preserved thee from the handes of thine enemies. But Alexander examined him of all the circumstance, and hee againe answered to euery point in order. The king was earnest to knowe how long it was since Nichomachus had giuen him this information, and he confessed that it was three dayes. Whereupon

upon the king considering, that with truth he could not haue concealed this matter so long, commaunded that hee should be put in ward. Then cried he out, and declared how that at the same instant hee knew of the conspiracie first, he opened it to Philotas, of whome (he saide) he might enquire the trueth. Whereupon it was demanded of him, whether he had required Philotas to be brought to the kings presence or no. Which thing when the king by his confession perceiued to be true, and that he did stilly abide by his first tale, he lifted vp his handes to heauen, the teares falling from his eyes, greatly complaining that Philotas should requite him with such vntruth, whom hee most assuredly trusted. Dimnus in the meane season knowing for what cause hee was sent for, wounded himselfe to the death: but yet somewhat letted by them that were sent to take him, was brought before the king, whom as soon as he beheld, sayd vnto him: Dimnus, what haue I offended thee, that thou shouldest thinke *Philotas* more worthie to be king of *Macedon* than I?

At which words Dimnus became speechlesse, and casting forth a great sigh, turned his face from the kings sight, and fell downe dead. The king called Philotas before him, and said: This man whom thou here seest, shuld haue suffered

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suffered death, if it could haue bene prooued
that he had concealed two dayes the treason
pretended against me: with the which mat-
ter he charged thee *Philotas*: to whom (as
he saith) he gaue knowledge immediately:
the more neare thou art about me, so much
more greater is thy offence: and the fault
had beene more tollerable in him than in
thee. Howbeit thou hast a fauourable iudge.
For if there bee any thing that cannot bee
excused, yet at the least it may bee pardo-
ned.

To this *Philotas* nothing abashed (if the
heart may bee iudged by the countenance)
made answer, that *Ceballinus* brought him
a tale, the reporter whereof was ouer light of
credite to be beleued, and that he feared least
by the presenting of such a matter which did
rise vpon bzabbling betwixt two persons of
will disposition, he might haue bene laught to
scorne: But afterwards when he once knew
that *Dimnus* had slaine himselfe, hee was
clearly then resolved no longer to haue pro-
longed the thing. And so falling downe before
the King, besought him that hee would rather
haue respect to his life past, then to his fault,
which was onely a concealment, and no ad-
done. It is hard to say whether the King bele-
ued him, or grounded his displeasure more
deeply

deepely in his heart: neuerthelesse in token of
pardon, gaue him his hand, saying how it ap-
peared that the accusation was rather mis-
credited by him, than concealed of malice.
Notwithstanding he called his Councel toge-
ther, amongst whome *Philotas* was not ad-
mitted, but *Nichomachus* was brought in
before them, where he declared all such mat-
ters as hee before had shewed vnto the King.
There was one *Craterus* in especiall fauour
with Alexander, who for the ennie he had to
Philotas advancement, bare him alwayes
grudge: who knew verie well that the King
had often bene displeased with *Philotas* for
the ouer-much aduancing of his good ser-
uice and valiant actes: but yet for all that in
those matters hee was not suspected of trea-
son, but onely noted of presumption and ar-
rogancie. *Craterus* thought that he could not
haue a better occasion to oppresse his enemy,
than by colouring his priuate hatred with a
pretence of dutie towards his Prince.

Would God (quoth he) you had taken our
counsell in the beginning of this matter: for
if you would needs haue pardoned him, ye
should haue kept from his knowledge how
much he was in your danger, rather than to
haue brought him in feare of his life, where-
by ye shall make him more mindfull of his
owne

owne perill, than of your goodnesse. For he
may alwayes imagine your death, but you
shall not bee alwaies in case to pardon him.
Let it neuer sinke in your hart, that he which
purposed so hainous a treason would change
his purpose for the beneuolence of a pardon.
You know well that such as offend are often
in dispaire of mercy. And though he per-
chance either with repentance of his fault, or
remembrance of your goodnes wold change
his mind, yet I am sure that his father *Par-
mio*, generall Captaine of so great an Armie,
& of so grounded authoritie amongst your
souldiers (that is with them in maner as you
selfe) would be ill content to be in your debt
for his sonnes life. There be certain benefi-
tatefull to men: and it is shame to confesse
to haue deserued death. Therefore I cōclude,
that hee had rather it should be thought you
had done him wrong, then that he had giuen
him his life. I cannot see therefore, but you
shall be enforced to destroy them for their
owne turetie. There be enemies inough re-
maining yet vnconquered, against whom we
be going: make your selfe sure from your
foes at home, so shall ye haue lesse need to
feare your enemies abroad.

These were *Craterus* words, & the rest
of the councell were of opinion, that *Philotas*
would

would neuer haue concealed this conspiracie,
except he had bene either principall or priuie
therunto. For they thought there was no true
man, nor honest heart, though hee had bene
none of the *Kinges* familiars, but one of his
meane seruants, hearing so much as *Philo-
tas* heard, but would forthwith haue opened
the matter. Yet he being the sonne of *Parme-
nio*, maister of the *kinges* horse, and of his priue
counsell, did not so much as the stranger, who
straightway made relation of that his brother
had told him. And whereas he pretended that
the *King* was at no leisure, that they iudged
to be done to the intent the accuser should not
seek any other to whome hee might vtter it.
Whereas *Nichomachus*, albeit hee was
bound by his oath to the contrary, yet would
he neuer rest till he had discharged his conscie-
nce. But *Philotas* when he consumed in a
manner the whole day in sport & pastime with
the *king*, could not find in his hart to cast forth
a liue words, especially in a matter so much
concerning the *kinges* safegard. But admit
(though they) he had giuen no credit to the mat-
ter through the lightnes of the reporter, why
should he haue deferred the accuser two dayes
though hee had beleued it? For if hee had
belied the tale, he might haue dismissed the
matter. It was also alledged that euery mans
minds

minde much misgiueth him, when the matter concerneth his owne leopardie. Much more ought man to bee credulous when it toucheth the suretie of a kings person, in which case it ought to be examined though it bee of small weight. They all therefore determined that Philotas should bee enforced to disclose the partners of the conspiracie. The King commaunding them to keepe the matter secrete, departed, and to the intent no inckling should appeare of this new counsell, he caused it to bee proclaimed that the armie should set forward the next day. The same night the king called Philotas to a banquet, with whom he bouchsated not onely to eate, but also familiarly to commune, notwithstanding he had before in the counsell determined his death. After in the second watch of the night, Ephestion, Craterus, and Erigonus, which were of the Kings counsell, came priuily into the court without light: and of the Esquiers there came Perdicas and Leonatus, by whom commaundement was giuen, that all such as lay neare the Kings lodging should watch in harnesse. By this time Souldiers were appointed to all the passages, and horsemen were sent to keepe the wayes, that no man should passe priuily to Parmenio, which then was gouernour of Macedonia, with a great power. When Artaras came

into

into the court with three hundred armed men, unto whom there were appointed ten of those that had the charge of the kings person, euerie one of them accompanied with tenne Esquiers, which were loosed into diuers companies to take the other conspiratores. But Artaras with his three hundred was sent to Philotas lodging, where with fiftie of the hardiest bzake by his chamber doore that was shut against them. The residue was commaunded to beset the house, least hee might escape by some secret way. Philotas, whether it were through the suretie of his owne conscience, or through wearines of such trauaile of minde, was in so profound and dead sleape, that Artaras bzake in vpon him before he wist. But at length when hee was awaked and come to himselfe, perceiuing them about to binde him, he exclaimed and saide: O Alexander, the malice of mine enemies haue pretailed a bone thy mercie. Speaking these words, they covered his face, and brought him into the court. The next day the king gaue commaundement that certaine of the men of war should assemble in harnesse, to the number of 6. thousand, besides slaves and rascals that filled full the court, which being assembled together, the guard compassed in Philotas with their band, to the intent he should not be spied of the people,

untill suche time as the King might speake vnto them. For by an olde lawe of the Macedons, the Kinges in their owne persons were wont to enquire in matters of treason: yet could not the Kings authoritie preuaile to condemnation, except it were confirmed by the consent of the men of warre. Therefore the body of Dimnus was first brought into the place, the most part unknowing what he had done, or by what chance hee was slaine. Then came the King forth to speake vnto the multitude, which in his countenance declared the dolour of his heart: and the sadnesse of such as were neare about him, caused vnto the rest great expectation of the matter. He did cast his eyes towards the earth, and stood long astonied, and in a muse, but at length he plucked vp his spirits, and spake vnto them in this wise.

By the treason of some men I was almost taken from you: but through the mercie and providence of the Goddess, I am yet preserved. Your honourable presence doth constrain me more vehemently to be moued against those traytors, because the only comfort and fruite of my life is, that I remaine to giue thanks vnto so many Noble men vnto whom I am so much bounden.

With speaking of these wordes the murmur of the multitude did interrupt his tale, and the teares did fall from their eyes. Then the King began againe his tale.

How much more will you be moued, when I shall shew you the authors of so horrible treason, the rehearfall of whom I yet reframe, as one very loth to discouer their names. But I must ouercome the memorie of my former fauour, and vtter the conspiracie of my vnnaturall people: for how is it possible for me to hide so great a treason? *Parricida* a man of that age so deeply in my debt, through the most ample benefits both of me & my Father, and whom I most esteemed of all my friends, is the captaine & contriuer of all this mischiefe. His minister *Philochus* hath procured *Leucolaus*, *Demetrius*, and this *Dimnus*, (whose body here you see) with other partners of their furie to my destruction.

When he came to that point, there arose throughout the multitude a great charme of a murmur and complaint, such as is wont to be among a number, and specially of men of warre, when they are moued either with affection or displeasure. With that *Nichomachus*, *Metron*, and *Ceballinus*, were brought forth, euery one of them giuing in euidence of that they had

had spoken afoze, yet appeared it not by any mans tale, that Philotas was priue to that conspiracie. But at the last when the noise was ceased, and the witnesses had saide what they could, the King proceeded in this wise.

Of what maner mind thinke you was this man, which hearing the whole report, could finde in his heart to conceale the matter, the truth whereof is well declared by the death of *Dimnus*. *Ceballinus* that reported an vncertaine tale, for the certaine tryall thereof was afrayd of no torments, and neuer delayed the moment of time, vntill hee had discharged himself: insomuch that he brake into the place where I was bathing: but *Philotas* onely feared nothing, hee beleeued nothing. O how great a heart had this man, who hauing knowledge of the daunger of his King, did neuer chaunge countenance, neuer take so much paine as to heare out the Tale of the accuser. But in this silence and concealement there is treason hidden, and the greedie desire hee had to raigne, did driue him headlong to attempt extreame mischiefe. His Father is Gouverneur of *Medea*, and beareth such a stroke amongst the Captaines and men of war through mine authoritie, that he hopeth for a great deale more than he hath. And be-

cause

cause I am without children, hee esteemeth me not. But *Philotas* is deceiued, I haue children, friends and kinsfolke amongst you. So long as you be in safegard, I shall not reckon my selfe without heires.

Then did hee recite a Letter that was taken, which *Parmenio* had writtē to his sons, *Nicanor* and *Philotas*, wherein there appeared no great prooue of any great treason intended. The effect was this: first take good heed to your selues, and then to those that belong to you, so shall we bring to passe that we haue purposed. Which Letter the King enforced, saying: It was writtē after such a manner, that if it came vnto his sonnes handes, it might bee perceiued of them that knewe the matter. And if it were caught by the way, it should deceiue them that knew it not. Then proceeded hee:

Now will *Philotas* perhaps say, that when *Dimnus* named all that were partakers of his conspiracie, he named not him. As for that it is no prooue of his innocencie, but a token of his power and authoritie, because hee was spared of them that might best bewraye him, which confessing of themselues, durst not speake of him. But what manner man hee hath beene, his life dooth shewe. He was fellow and companion to *Aminas* my kinsman,

kinsman, which conspired high treason
gainst my person in *Macedon*. He gaue his
sister in marriage to *Attalus*, then whome I
had neuer greater enemy. When by reason
of olde friendship and familiaritie, I wrote
vnto him of the title given to me by the O-
racle of *Iupiter Hammon*, he did not sticke to
answere: that hee was very glad that I was
admitted into the number of the Goddes,
howbeit very sorie for those that should liue
vnder such an one, as would exceed the state
of a man. These were plaine tokens that
his heart was turned from mee, and that he
spighted my glorie. Which I kept close in
my heart so long as I might. For I thought
my bowells pulled from mee, if I should
make a little store of them, for whome I
had done so much. But now it is not their
words that must be punished: for the rash-
nesse of theyr tongues is turned to swordes,
which (beleue mee) *Philotas* hath whetted
to my destruction. Whome if I should
suffer to escape, alas my souldiers whither
should I goe? To whome should I commit
my person? He was the man that I made
generall of my horsemen, of the greatest
part of mine Armie, and of all the noble
young Gentlemen. To this trueth and fi-
delitie haue I committed my safegarde,
my

my trust, and victorie. His father did I pre-
fer vnto the same estate, wherevnto you ad-
vance me, *Media*, than which there is not a
richer countrey, with many thousands of
your friends and fellowes haue I put vnder
his gouernance and authoritie. Where I tru-
sted of most suretie, there I found most pe-
rill. How much more happie had I bene to
haue died in battaile, and rather bene slaine
of mine enemies, then thus betrayed of my
subiects? For now being saued from the
dangers which I most most feared, I haue
fallen into those which I ought to haue
doubted least. You haue bene wont often-
times to warne mee that I should regard my
suretie. It is not that may make me sure of
that you counsell me. To your hands, and to
your succour I flye. I would not liue though
I might against your wils, and though you
would, yet can I not, except I be deliuered
from mine enemies.

Hereupon *Philotas* was brought forth in
an olde garment, his hands bound behind his
backe. It well appeared how much this mi-
serable sight moued them which late before
enuiued him. The day before they saw him ge-
nerall of the horsemen, they knew that he was
at supper with the King, & suddenly they sawe
him both prisoner bound like a theefe, and also
condemned

condemned to die. So it did pittie their hart
to consider, how Parmenio so noble a man, so
great a captain, which late hauing lost two of
his sons, Hector & Nicanor, should be put to
answere absent with the third sonne, whom
euill fortune had left him. The multitude be-
ing thus inclined to pittie, Amintas one of the
Kings officers, with a cruell tale set them all
against the prisoner.

We be all (quoth he) betraied to the bar-
barous nations, none of vs shal return home
to his countrey, wife, nor friends, but a mai-
med body without a head, without honour,
without fame, in a strange countrey, shall be
a mocking stocke to our enemies.

This tale was nothing pleasant to the King,
because hee put the souldiers in remembe-
rance of their wiues and countrey, whereby
hee thought they would be the lesse willing
to goe forwarde in his warres. There was
one Cenus, which though he had married the
sister of Philotas, yet did hee moze extream-
ly enuie him than any other, calling him
Traytor against his King, vnto his countrey,
and to the whole Army. And therebpon toke
vp a stone that by chaunce lay at his fete, to
haue cast at Philotas, which he did (as some
thought) to the end hee might rid him from
racking. But the King kept backe his hand,
and

and said that the prisoner should haue liber-
tie to speake for himselfe, and would not suf-
fer him to be condemned otherwise. When
Philotas being admitted to speake, were
it through the conscience of his offence, or
through the greatnesse of his perill, as a man
astonied, and besides himselfe, durst neither
looke vp, nor speake, but burst out into teares.
Wherebpon his heart fainted, and he solowed
down vpon those that led him. But afterward
when he had wiped his eyes, and by little and
little recouered his hart and tongue, he made
countenance to speake. When the King beheld
him in the face, and said: The Macedons shall
be thy Judges, I would know therefore whe-
ther thou wilt speake to them in thy Countrie
language, or not? To whom Philotas answe-
red: There be diuers nations heere besides
the Macedons, which as I trust shal perceiue
my words the better, if I vse the same lan-
guage that you did, because moze might vn-
derstand your tale. When said the King, marke
how this man hath his countrey tongue in ha-
tred. For there is none but he that wil disdain
to speake it: but let him say what hee will, so
long as you remember that he not onely dis-
daineth our customes, but also our language.
And with that word the King departed from
the assembly. Then said Philotas:

Iris

It is easie for an innocent to find words to
speake: but it is very hard for a man in mis-
erie to keepe a temperance in his tale. Thus
standing betwixt a cleare conscience, and
most vnhappie fortune, I know not in what
wise I shal satisfie my selfe, & the time both
together. For he that might best haue iud-
ged my cause, is gone: what the cause is he
would not heare me, I cannot wel imagine,
sith vpon the matter heard, it lyeth onely in
his hands both to discharge and condemne
me. For the matter not heard, he cannot ac-
quite me being absent, since he condemned
me when he was here present. But notwith-
standing the defence of a prisoner is not on-
ly superfluous, but also hatefull, which see-
meth not to inform, but to reprove y^e Iudge:
yet will I not forsake my selfe, nor so do, that
I shal seeme condemned by mine owne de-
fault. I see not of what treason I should be
guiltie. Among the conspirators no man na-
med me. *Nichomachus* said nothing of me.
Ceballinus could not tell more of mee then
he heard. And yet doth the King beleue
that I should bee head of this conspiracie.
Was it possible that *Dimius* should forget
to name him that was chiefe? Or is it likely
that he would haue ouerslipped me, when
the names of the conspirators were deman-
ded

ded of him? hee would rather haue named
me, falsly to allure the young man the soo-
ner to his opinion: yet when hee tolde the
matter priuily to *Nichomachus*, whom hee
beleueed verily would haue kept it secret,
naming himselfe and all the rest, of me on-
ly he made no mention, wherein it cannot be
gathered that he omitted me, for because he
would haue spared me. I pray you my fel-
lowes, if no man had come to me, nor giuen
me knowledge of the matter, should I this
day haue bene put to answere, when no man
could haue accused me? but be it that *Dim-*
ius were alieue and would spare mee, what
think ye by the other? would they confesse
of themselues, and forbear me? Aduersitie
is malicious and spitefull. An offender when
he is punished himselfe, vseth not to keepe
silence to spare an other man. Commonly
hee that goeth to death will spare no man,
nor no man will spare him, that is readie to
dye: and yet so many as be guiltie, and put
to torments, will there none confesse the
truth? But now I must answere to the point
that was offence, if there were any. Why did
I conceale treason? Why did I heare it with
a small regard? This fault, if it were a fault,
thou hast pardoned me (O *Alexander*) wher-
foeuer thou art, by giuing me thy hand, and
bid-

THE NEXT BOOK
bidding me to thy banquet, in token of at-
tonemēt. If you did beleue me, I am cleare.
If you forgaue me, I am quite. Stand at
the least to your own iudgement. Alas, what
haue I done since this last night I went fro
your boord? What new report hath chan-
ged your minde? I rested in a sound sleepe,
whē mine enemies by their binding waked
me, that was sleeping in mine owne misfor-
tune. Offenders when they cannot sleepe
through their vnquiet conscience, are wont
to be vexed with cares, not only when their
mischiefe is intended, but also when it is en-
ded. But this quietnesse came vnto me first
through mine owne innocencie, & then by
the kings pardon. I feared not that others
cruelty shuld take more place then his mer-
cie. But least he should forethinke that be-
leued me, ye shal vnderstand that the mat-
ter was first shewed me by a light fellow,
who could not bring any witnesse or war-
rantise of his tale: which if I had disclosed,
should haue put many men to trouble. O
vnhappie man, I thought mine cares had
bene seduced with the brabblements of two
buggerers, & I suspected the trouble of the
partie, because he did not vtter the matter
himself, but procured his brother to do it. I
was in feare that the one should haue de-
nied

nied that euer he shewed any such matter to
the other, and then should I haue seemed to
procure much trouble to many of the kings
friends. So that where I offended none, I
haue found some more desirous to procure
my death then to saue my life. What hatred
suppose ye should I haue gotten if I had ac-
cused innocents? But *Dimnius* slew himselfe:
could I therfore diuine afore that he would
so do? No surely. Thus his death being the
thing that onely tried the accusation true,
could not mooue me to vtter it, being pre-
uented by an other. And if I had bene a
conspirator with *Dimnius* of so great a trea-
son: is it like that I would haue dissimuled
by the space of two dayes after it was disco-
uered? As for *Ceballinus*, it had bene small
maisterie to haue dispatched him out of the
way. After the thing disclosed, wherefore
should I haue declared the matter? I en-
tered into the Kings chamber alone, ha-
uing my weapons about mee: why defer-
red I my purpose? durst I not attempt it
without *Dimnius*? No, perchance ye will say,
because he was the chiefe conspirator. How
then standeth it together that I should be
his vnderling, which did couet to be king of
Macedon? which of you all haue bin corrupt
of me with bribes? What Captaine, what
Officer

Officer, haue I made of aboue all other: It
is laid to my charge that I abhorre the spea-
king of my Countrey language, and that I
disdaine the maners of the *Macedōs*. What?
do I despise the kingdome that I couet? Ye
know wel that our natural tongue, through
the conuersation of strange nations, is gone
out of vre, as well we that be victors, as
they that be subdued, must learne a new lan-
guage. But surely these things make no more
against me, then did the treason that *Amin-
tas* the sonne of *Perdiccas* intended against
the king; with him I had friendship I wil not
denie: except ye will make it a thing vnlaw-
full to loue the kings brother. But sithence
it was our dutie to honour a man called to
that degree of fortune, I beseech you am I
guiltie because I could not gesse before that
he would offend? Is the law such, that the
friends of offenders must suffer being inno-
cents? If that be reason, why liue I so long?
If it be no reason, why am I condemned to
die? But when I wrote I had pittie of them
that shuld liue vnder such a one as beleued
himselfe to be the sonne of *Iupiter*. O faith-
full friendship, and dangerous libertie of
true counsell, that deceiued me, that com-
pelled me not to hide that I thought. I co-
fesse that I wrote so to the King, but not of
che

Of Quintus Curtius. 102
he King. I did it not for spite, but for my
duties sake. I thought it more meete for *A-
lexander* to haue acknowledged the kinred
of *Iupiter* with silence, then to haue made a
vaunt thereof with vaine boasting. But for
because the truth of Gods Oracle is certaine,
let God be witnesse in my cause. Retaine me
in prison till ye may know *Iupiters* answere
concerning this conspiracie, and in the
meane season, he that hath vouchsafed our
king to be his sonne, wil suffer none of them
that haue conspired against his offspring, to
be vnkown. If you suppose torments more
certaine than Oracles, I will not desire to
bee saued from them in triall of the truth.
There is an old vsage, that such as be put to
answere vpon life and death, are woont to
bring their parents and kinsmen before you.
Two brothers of late haue I lost: my father
neither can I bring forth, nor dare I call for,
because he is accused of this treasō likewise.
Is it a small thing for him that is the father
of many children, and hauing but one sonne
left in whom to take pleasure, not onely to
loose him, but also to loose his owne life
with him? Therefore my most deare father,
thalt thou die for me, and with me: It is I
that take thy life from thee: It is I that end
thine olde dayes: Why didst thou beget
me

me vnhappy wretch in hatred of the Gods, to take such fruite by me as is prepared for thee? I am in doubt whether my youth be more vnhappy or thine age. For I in the very flower of my yeares am weeded vp, and the executioner shall bereaue thee of thy life, which if fortune would haue suffered to continue, yet nature would haue asked it ere it had bene long. The remembrance of my father dooth put me in mind how loath and timorous I ought to haue bene to the report of tales. For when my father was informed that *Philp* the Phisitian had prepared poyson for *Alexander*, he wrote a Letter to warn the King that he should not receiue the medicine, which his Phisitā had prepared. Was my father beleued? Was his Letter of any authoritie? I my selfe when I haue reported such things as I heard, how often haue I bin shaken off with a check for my light belief? So that when we tell things wee are hated, and when we hold our peace we are suspected: what wou'd you haue vs to do?

Then one of the company that stood by, cryed out, that none ought to be traitors to them which put them in truss.

Thou saiest well (quoth *Philotas*) whosoever thou art. And therefore if I haue done treason, I require no respit of my paine. And

here

here will I make an ende of speaking, because my last wordes seeme tedious vnto your eares.

As he was speaking these words, his keepers ledde him away. There was amongst the Captaines one *Belon*, a hardie man, but one very rude of all honest manners and ciuilitie, who being an olde Souldier, was promoted from lowe estate to the roome of a Captaine. This *Belon* presuming vpon a foolish audacity, (when all others had done) began to tell them, that when diuers had take vp their lodgings in the campe, how they were thrust out by the seruants of *Philotas*, which would lay their baggage where other men were placed before: and how all the streetes were full of his waggons, laden with gold and siluer. He added further, that *Philotas* would suffer none to lodge neare him, but alwayes appoynted certaine to wait whiles he slept, which should void all men awse, to the intent he should not be disquieted with any noyse: not so much for wakening of him, as for his diseasing, & how he was so haughtie y^e he despised y^e plain men of *Phrigia* and *Paphlagonia*, and being a *Macedon* born, would not be ashamed to heare men of his owne natiō by an Interpreter, and whereas *Philotas* had before moued to haue the Oracle of *Iupiter* enquired of, he said it

was meant thereby to make God a liar, for acknowledging Alexander to be his sonne, as if any man should enuie the king for that title which the Gods had giuen him. But why (quoth he) did he not aske counsell at Iupiter before he did offend? For now he would haue be send for an Oracle, that in the meane season his father which ruleth in Media, might raise a power vp, & with the money that he hath in custodie, assemble desperate persons to the fellowship of his mischiefe. Neuer theles we shal (quoth he) send to Iupiter, not to enquire of any thing touching the matter, but to giue him thanks, & do him sacrifice, for the preservation of so good a King. When all the company was moued, & amongst the Kings household there began a cry, that the traytor should be rent in peeces. Which thing Philotas (who feared more grieuous punishment) was content to hear. The king returning into the pzease, deferred the counsel til the next day, for to commit Philotas either to prison there to be racked, or else in the meane season to get further knowledge of things. And albeit it drew towards night, yet commanded he his counsel to be called together. Some of the thought it best Philotas should be stoned to death after the Macedons laws. Ephestion, Craterus, & Cenus, determined to haue the troth tried by torments, & then they

which

which concealed the contrarie, turned to their opinion. Wherefore when the counsell was broken vp, Ephestion, with Craterus and Cenus, arose to take Philotas to the examination. The king called Craterus vnto him, and commanding the rest to auoid, had secret communication with him in the innermost part of his lodging, the effect whereof came not to any mans knowledge: And there tarried till the night was far past, to heare the end of the examinatio. The executioners set forth all sorts of cruell torments in the sight of Philotas, who of his owne minde said vnto them,

Why defer ye to kill such one as hath confessed himselfe the Kings enemy, and a traitor? What needeth more examination? It was mine intent, it was my will.

Craterus minde was, that whatsoever was confessed before, should bee confessed by Philotas againe vpon the racke. Which whiles he was taken vp, his eies bounden, and spoiled of his clothes, cryed out vpon the law of nature, and the Gods of the countrey. But all was in vaine to their deafe eares. Finally as a condemned man hee was torne with most extreame torments by his enemies, that wrong him soze for the Kings pleasure. And notwithstanding that both fire and scourges

were ministred vnto him, moze to paine him then for any examinations sake: yet hee had power of himselfe to refraine both from speaking and groaning. But after that his body began to bolne with stripes, & that he could not abide the scourges, which pearced to the bare bones, then hee promised if they would torment him no moze, he would confesse whatsoeuer they should require to know. But first he would haue them sweare by the life of Alexander, that they should cease their torments, and set the racke aside. The which thing obtained, he said to Craterus: Tell mee what ye will haue me to confesse: Whereat Craterus was displeased, thinking by those wordes, that hee had mocked him, and caused his torments to be renewed. When Philotas besought him to haue a time of respite whiles he might take his breath, and then he would vtter all that euer he knew. In the meane season, the chiefe of the men at armes, and especially such as were neare to Parmenio in any degree of kinred, after that the same had bruted that Philotas was tormented, fearing the Macedons lawe (wherein it was ordained that the kinsfolke of such as hadde done treason against the King, should be put to death with the Traytors) some slew themselves, some fled into wilde mountaines, and waste wildernesses,

desertes, and great dread & feare fell through all the host, vntill such time as the King hauing knowledge of the vproare, made proclamation that he would pardon the rigour of the law to the kinsfolke of the traitors. But in conclusion Philotas made this confession, whether it were to deliuer himselfe out of paine by accusing himselfe falsely or not, it is doubted: seeing it is commonly seene, that both such as truly confesse, and falsely denie, come all to an end.

You are not ignorant (quoth he) how familiar my father was with *Egilacus*. I meane the same that was slaine in the field: hee was the cause of our mischiefe. For when the King tooke vpon him the title of *Iupiters* sonne, he disdained thereat. Shall we knowledge him (quoth he) to be our king, that taketh scorne that *Philip* was his father? We are all vndone if we can suffer this. He doth not onely despise men, but the Gods also, which will be reputed a God. We haue lost *Alexander*, we haue lost our King. We are fallen to presumption, neither tollerable to the Gods with whom hee compareth, neither to men whom he despiseth. Haue we with our bloud made him a God, which despiseth vs? which disdaineth to bee in the number of men? Trust me that we also

if we be men, shalbe adopted likewise of the gods. Who hath reuenged the deaths of *Alexander* his grandfather, or of *Archilaus* or *Perdicas*? But this man (quoth he) hath forgiven them that slew his father.

These were the words that *Egilocus* spake about supper time, and on the morrow early my father sent for me, who was heauie, and saw me sad, so we both had heard that which made vs out of quiet. Therefore to proue whether he babled those words throught excess of wine, or of an aduised purpose conceived before, we thought good to send for him, and seeking occasion of the same communication, hee of his owne minde said further: that if we durst undertake the aduenture, hee would not shrink from vs, or if our hearts seru'd not, he would keepe our counsell. Yet so long as *Darius* was liuing, my father thought all the matter out of time, because the death of *Alexander* should bee to the auaille of our enemies, and not of our selues. But *Darius* once rid out of the way, then hee that could destroy the King, should obtaine the Empire of Asia, and all the Orient for his reward: which counsell being approued, faith & troath was given thereupon: but concerning *Dionus* I know nothing. When he had confessed all this matter, I perceiue (quoth hee) that it doth

doth not auaille me that I am vtterly guiltles of this treason. Then they renew'd his torments againe, and so beate his face and his eyes with the troncheons of their speares, until they enforced him, not only to confesse of himselfe, but also to shew the circumstances of the whole treason pretended.

Because (quoth hee) it seemeth that the King would sojourne long among the *Bactrians*, I was afraid least my Father that had so great a power in his handes, and the keeping of so much treasure (beeing fourescore yeares of age) should happen to die in the meane season, and then being disarmed of so great a strength, should not get opportunitie to sleie the King. Wherefore I hastned the matter, whilst the pray was in hand.

Thus discovered he the conspiracie, whereof if they beleued his father to be autho: (hee saide) for his tryall hee refused not to bee tormented againe, though it were too greuous for him to endure. The Officers then whispering together, thought the examination to be sufficient, and returned therewithall vnto the King, which on the morrow caused all the confession there to be openly rectified before *Philotas*: whome hee caused to bee ledde into the place, because he was not able to go, and there he confessed all the matter againe. Then *Demetrius*

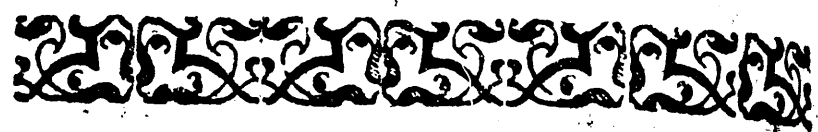
metrius was brought forth, who was counted the greatest deuer in this conspiracie next to Philotas. But he with great protestation and incredible stoutnes both of hart and countenance, denied that hee euer intended any euil against the King, and for his triall desired to be tormented. When Philotas casting his eyes about, spied one Calis standing by, and made a signe to him to draw neare: who being abashed, and refusing to come forward: Wilt thou (quoth hee) suffer Demetrius to lie, and me to be strained againe? With those wordes Calis became speechles, and changed colour. When the Macedons beganne to suspect that hee would accuse innocents, because the same Calis was neither named by Nichomachus, nor by Philotas himselfe in his torments. But finally Philotas before the kings officers standing therabout, confessed that the treason was conspired by himselfe and Demetrius. Wherefore as many as were appeached by Nichomachus vppon a token giuen, were stoned to death according to the Macedons lawe. Thus was Alexander delivered from great perill, not onely of his life, but also of his surerie. For Parmenio and Philotas being of such power, if they had not openly bene founde culpable, could not haue bene condemned without the grudge of the

armie.

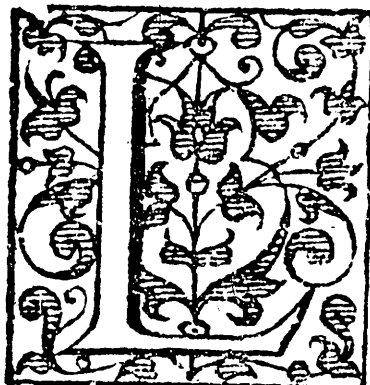
armie. So long therefore as Philotas denied the thing, the matter seemed doubtfull, and many men thought him cruelly handled. But after hee had confessed the circumstances, no man, not so much as his neare friends took any pittie of him.

The





The seventh Booke of Quintus
Curtius, of the acts of *Alexander*
the great, King of Macedon.



Like as the men of warre
thought Philotas iustly
put to death, his offence
being fresh in memorie,
even so after he was gon,
whom they before hated,
their enuie was turned to
pittie.

The noblenesse of the young man moued
them much: so did the remembraunce of the
olde yeares and desolation of his ffather. He
was the first that made the way open for A-
lexander into Asia, alwayes partaker of his
perils, as he which in the wars was euer cap-
taine of his halward, chiefe counsaile with
the king his ffather, and so trustie to Alex-
ander himselfe, that in oppressing of Attalus
his enemy, hee would vse none other mans
seruice. The remembrance of these things was
ripe among all the souldiers, and leditions
wordes came to the kings eares, who heeing
little moued therewith, did wisely with tra-
uaille

to auoide the euill occasions comming of
holenes: wherfore he made it to be proclaimed,
that all men should be in readinesse before the
Court gate, where they being once assembled,
he came forth to speake vnto them. And as
it was before deuised, required the bande of
the Agrians to bring forth one Alexander
Lyncestes, which long before Philotas had
conspired the kings death. This man being
accused of two witnessses (as before saide) had
remained in prison thre yeares together. A-
gainst whom it was proued that hee was of
counsaile with Pausanias in the killing of
king Phillip. But because he saluted first A-
lexander by the name of king, his punish-
ment was deferred, rather then his offence for-
giuen. For at the intercession of Antipater
his ffather in lawe, the king had respited his
iust indignation for that time. But the old fe-
stered sore brake out againe, and the conside-
ration of his perill present, renewed the re-
membraunce of his daunger passed. Therefore
when hee was brought forth of prison, and
commaunded to say for himselfe, albeit hee
had thre yeares leysure to deuise his aun-
swere, yet stammering and trembling could
bring forth but little of that which hee purpo-
sed to say. And finally, both his heart and his
memory failed him: wherfore there was none
that

that doubted, but that his fearefulnes was a token of a guiltie conscience, and no default of memorie, so that whilest he was staggering and hacking in his tale, they that stood next thrust him thzough with their pikes: whose bodie conueied out of the place, the king commaunded Amintas and Simmannas to bee brought forth: for Palemon their youngest brother, after hee had knowledge of Philotas torment, fled away. Of all Philotas friends, these two were most dear to him, and through his commendation aduanced to high and honourable offices. The king remembzng with what earnestnesse and labour Philotas had brought them into his fauour, doubted not but they were priue to this last cōspiracy. Whereupon he declared vnto the multitude, that he had occasion of suspition against those men long agoe by his mothers Letters, whereby he had warning to beware of them, & that now fearing the sequele of worser inconueniences had made them sure, inforced therevnto by apparant presumptions. First he saide, the day befoze Philotas treason came to light, it was well knowne that they had much conference with him in secret: and also their brother who fled away when Philotas was on the racke, hee had declared by the absenting of himselfe, the cause of his flying. He shewed also that of late,

late, contrary to their accustomed manner of sayting, without any cause mouing them therevnto, but onely by pretence of diligence they passed next about the king of all other: whereat marueiling that they would furnish a roome wherevnto they were not appointed, became so in doubt of their clustring together, that hee returned into the traine of the Gentlemen that followed him. He declared beside, that when Antiphanes Clarke of the stable, the day befoze Philotas treason came to light, according to his occustomable manner, gaue knowledge to Amintas that he should deliuer of his horse to such as had lost their owne: hee proudly answered again, that except he would content himselfe, hee should knowe shortly what maner of man he was. Which violence of tongue and rashnesse of words bulked out, (quoth he) was nothing else, but a declaration and token of his trayterous heart. These things beeing true (hee saide) they hadde no lesse deserved then Philotas, and if they were otherwise, hee desired they mighte answere vnto the points. Whereupon Antiphanes was brought in to giue euidence of the horse not deliuered, and of his proud answers giuen with threatening. When Amintas had gotten libertie to speake, hee desired of the king, that whiles they answered

answered for themselves, their bandes might
bee loosed: which thing obtained, hee made
suite to haue his garment to bee cast vpon
him. Which Alexander not onely graunted,
but willed a weapon to be deliuered vnto his
hands, as other squiers vsed. When hee had
receiued the same, he eschued a little the place
where the corpes of Lincestes lay, and said in
this wise.

Whatsoever shall become of vs (sir King)
we must thinke if our chaunce be good, the
same to proceede of your fauour, and if it be
euill, we must iudge the fault to bee in our
fortune, seeing you suffer vs to pleade our
cause without preiudice, setting our mindes
free, and our bodies at large, with the same
apparell restoring vs, wherein we were wont
to follow you. Our cause is such, that we can-
not doubt of it, and we are passed the feare
of fortune. Therefore with your fauour I wil
answere first those points wherewith you char-
ged vs last. We know most assuredly that we
be innocent of any kind of words spoken to
the derogation of your Maiestie: and durst
affirme that you had ouercome all envie of
men, but that peradventure you wold think
that I went about with faire words to excuse
things that haue beene maliciously spoken.
Though it were so that words sometime did
escape

escape vs, either when we were faint or wea-
ried in marching, hazarding our selues in
fighting, or else when we were sicke, or dres-
sing of our wounds: our honest doings other-
wise do deserue, that ye should rather impute
the same to the time, than to any euill dispo-
sition in vs: For it is commonly scene where
any thing chaunceth amisse, all men in ma-
ner become guiltie of the fault. We do vio-
lence sometime to our owne bodies, which
we hate not. Yea, the comming of the fathers
vnto the children, sometime is both vngrate-
full, and also hatefull. But on the other side,
when we receiue rewards or gifts, or whē we
come laden home with spoyle, who can then
flay vs? who can restraine our chearfulness?
or who can resist our courage in fighting? the
nature of man is neyther to keepe measure
in displeasure, nor in gladnesse. Thus are
we driuen by the violence of affectiō, some-
time with pittie, and sometime with fury, as
our present desire dooth gouerne vs. One
while we are in mind to passe through *India*,
as far as the Ocean sea, and by & by the me-
mory of our wiues, children, and country, cal-
ls vs backe againe, and doth alter our purpose.
But as soon as the trumpet soundeth, straight
all these imaginations do passe away, & eue-
ry man then runneth into his array, reuēging
Z vpon

upon their enemies the displeasures concei-
ued within their lodgings. I would *Philotas*
had offended but onely in words. I would
passe ouer that, and return to the other point
whereof we be accused. The friendship that
was betwixt *Philotas* and vs, I will not only
deny, but also confesse that we did couer the
same, and receiued thereby great commodi-
tie. Do you maruel that we did honor and e-
steem the sonne of *Parmenio*, whom you did
chuse to be next about your person, and did
aduanee aboue all other your friends? You
your selfe (if it please you to heare the truth)
are the cause of this our perill. What other
thing moued vs to couet *Philotas* friendship,
then that wee desired to please you. By his
preferment we were aduanced vnto your fa-
uour. He stood in such case with you, that it
behoued vs as wel to sue for his beneuolēce,
as to feare to get his displeasure. Haue not we
sworne that we would repute your enemies
our enemies? and honour your friends as our
owne? Should we haue bene found disobe-
dient in this bond of our dutie? and especial-
ly towards him, whom ye did preferre aboue
all men? If this be a fault, ye haue fewe inno-
cents, or surely none at all. All men desired
to be *Philotas* friends: but all that did couet
could not be accepted. So if ye will make no
difference

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difference betweene the partners of his trea-
son, and such as were his friends, then so ma-
ny be offenders as wold haue bin his friends.
What presumption haue you now that wee
should offend? I think bicause yesterday *Phi-
lotas* talked with vs familiarly alone. Thereof
I cannot excuse my selfe, if yesterday I chan-
ged any thing of mine accustomed manner
and liuing, but if so bee we vsed euery day
to doo the lyke, then custome must needs
make it to bee none offence. But it may
be saide the Horses were not deliuered to
Antiphanes: and the day before *Philotas*
was detected, this matter was betwixt *An-
tiphanes* and mee. If that bee a iust cause of
suspension that I would not then deliuer my
Horses, there shall arise a doubtfull plea be-
tweene the denyer and the demaunder, sa-
uing that his cause is better that keepeth stil
his owne, then his that requireth another
mans. I had tenne Horses, of the which
Antiphanes had distributed eight, to such as
had lost theyr owne: so there remained one-
ly two, which when hee would proudly and
wrongfully haue taken away, I was enfor-
ced to keep them still, except I would haue
serued on foot. I cannot deny, but this cōmu-
nicatiō was had between a man of a free sto-
macke, and a person of a vile nature, which I
Z 2 could

could doo no manner seruice, but take away mens horses, and giue them to other. What mischief is this, that at one time I must purge my selfe both to the king and to *Antiphanes*. But to the other point that your mother did write to you of vs, as of your enemies: I wold God she had more wisely bin carefull of her sonnes safegard, then doubtfully imagined such fained figures. Why doth shee not also expresse the cause of her feare? Besides shee sheweth not her author, nor yet signifieth one word whereby she was moued to write to you such Letters of feare. O wretched estate of mine, which standeth in no lesse hazarde to holde my peace, then to speake. Yet howsoeuer the matter shall passe, I had rather mine excuse shou'd displease you, then my cause. If you remember when you sent mee to fetch new souldiers out of *Macedon*, even then ye shewed me, that in your mothers House there lurked many lustie young Gentlemen: Wherefore ye commaunded mee, that in executing your commission, I should spare none, but bring with mee perforce, all such as refused the warres: Which thing I did, and fulfilled your will therein more largely then was expedient for me. For I brought vnto you *Gorgens*, *Hecateus*, & *Gorgata*, which now minister vnto you

rights

right acceptable seruice. What creature therefore is more wretched then I, which if I had not fulfilled your will, should rightfully haue suffered, and now perish, because I obeyed you? For truly there was none other cause that moued your mother to persecute vs, then that we preferred your vtilitie before a womans fauour. I brought vnto you of *Macedons* sixe thousand, and eight hundred horsemen, of the which the more would not haue followed mee, if I had released such as would not haue come. It is reason therefore, that in as much as your mother is displeased with vs for your cause, that ye mitigate her in whose displeasure ye haue put vs.

Whiles *Amintas* was thus pleading his cause, they that had pursued his brother *Palemon* (of whome we spake) came leading him bounde into the place. When the rage of the people could scarcely bee pacified, but as the manner was in such cases, they would haue stoned *Palemon* to death. Yet he boldly spake to them and said.

I desire no fauour for my selfe, so that my flying bee not hurtfull to the innocencie of my brethren, whome if you cannot thinke cleare, let the fault be laid to me. For theyr matter appeared the better, because I which fled away am suspected.

Z 3

Affons

As soone as hee had spoken these words, the whole assembly were enclined in his fauour, and resolved to teares, being so suddainly so contrary turned, that now they were all conuerted on his part, which a litle before were all against him: he was in the prime flower of his youth, and through other mens fear fled away amongst those horsemen, which were amazed at Philotas torments. His company had left him behinde, and whiles he was in doubt whether hee might turne againe, or flye further forwarde, was taken by them which pursued after him. He than began to weepe, and beat himselfe about the face: not so much lamenting his owne chaunce, as that case of his brethren being in danger for his cause, with which his behauiour hee moued the king and all the company there present. Onely his brother Amintas could not be pacified, but behelde him with a fierce countenance, and said:

O mad creature, then oughtest thou to haue wept, when thou didst put thy spurs to thy horse, as a traytor to thy brethren, and a companion to traytors. Thou wretch, whither, and from whence didst thou flee? Thou hast now brought to passe, that both I am thought worthy of death, and also must become an accuser of others.

Palemon

Palemon thereupon confessed himselfe to haue offended in that point, but more grievously against his brethren, then towards himselfe. When the multitude could not abstaine from weeping and shewing: being tokens whereby men in assembly are wont to declare their affections: and with one consent they cryed all to the king with one voyce, that hee should spare innocents, and men of seruice: his friends also vpon that occasion did rise, and with weeping eyes required the king of mercy. When he commaunded silence, and said.

By mine owne iudgement I do pardon both you *Amintas* and your brethren, desirous that ye should be more mindfull of my benefit, then of your owne ieopardie. Come in fauour againe with me, with that fidelitie I am recōciled vnto you. Except those things which were brought in euidence, had bene debated and tryed to the vttermost, my dissimulation might haue bene suspected in this matter. Better it is therefore to be cleared, then to remaine in ieaousie, and thinke that no man can be acquitted, except hee be first detected. Thou *Amintas*, pardon thy brother, and let that be a token of thy heart reconciled vnto mee.

This done, the king dismissed the assembly, and sent for Poledamus, whome of all men

Z 4

Par-

Parmenio loued best, accustomed alwaies to stand next him in battel. And though y^e cleernes of his conscience did assure him to come boldly, yet after he was commaunded to bring forth his brethren being but yong, and vnknowne to the king, his confidence was turned into feare, and began to doubt, imagining in his mind rather such things as might hurt him, then by what means he was thus circumuented. In the meane season the Guard which had commaundement therevnto, brought forth his brethren. When the king sawe Polidamus pale for feare, he called him neare, and commanding all men apart, said vnto him:

Through *Parmenio* his treason, we were all in daunger, but chiefly I and thou, whom vnder colour of friendship he deceiued most. In the pursuing & punishment of whom, see how much I trust thy fidelitie: for I am determined to vse thee as a minister therin, and whiles thou goest about it, thy brethren shall be thy pledges. Thou shalt goe into *Media*, and beare my Letters to my officers, written with mine owne hand. It is necessary haste be made, that the swiftnes of the fame may be preuented. I will that ye come thither in the night, and that the reuour of my writing be executed the day after. Ye shall carry letters likewise vnto *Parmenio*, one from mee, and another

another written in the name of *Philotas*. I haue his signet in my custodie. So that when *Parmenio* shall see both you, and the Letter sealed with his sonnes ring, he will be without any suspicion.

Polidamus being thus deliuered of feare, promised his diligence a great deale more earnestly then he was required. When *Alexander* saw his promptnes in the matter, he both commended his good will, and rewarded him accordingly. And Polidamus chaunged his owne apparell, and tooke other after the *Ara-*by fashion, with two men of the same country to be his guides, for whose truth their wiues and children were pledges in the meane season. And so they passed on Camels through such places as were desert for lacke of moisture, & within eleuen dayes came vnto theyr iournies ende, before any knew of their coming. Polidamus then tooke againe his *Macedons* apparell, and in the dead time of the night came into *Cleanders* lodging, which had the chiefe authoritie there, next vnto *Parmenio*. When *Cleander* by his letters vnderstood the kings pleasure, Polidamus hauing more Letters to deliuer likewise to others, agreed by the spring of the day to goe all together to *Parmenio*. As they were going, tidings came to *Parmenio* of Polidamus arrivall, who reioy-

reioycing both for the comming of his friend,
and for the desire he had to know of the kings
estate (the rather because hee had receiued no
Letter from him a long space) commaunded
Polidamus to be sought out. The houses of
that country haue large backe sides, and plea-
sant orchards full of trees, being the chiefe de-
light of Princes and great Lords there. The
Captaines which had receiued commaunde-
ment by the kings letters to kill him, came to
Parmenio, walking vnder the shadow of the
trees, being agreed amongst themselves to
execute the thing, when hee should beginne to
read his Letters. So soone as Parmenio had
espied Polidamus comming a farre off, with
a semblant of ioy (as appeared by his coun-
tenance) ranne to embrace him, and after salu-
tation giuen to each other, deliuered the kings
letter. As he was vnclosing it, he demaunded
of Polidamus what the King intended to doe:
you shall know that (quoth he) by the contents
of our Letters. Which when he had read, he
perceiue (quoth Parmenio) that the King
purposed a voyage against the Arachosians:
surely he is a painful prince, and neuer in rest.
But now after so much glozie wonne, it were
time for him to take his ease, and haue consi-
deration of his health and safeguarde. And
then hee read the other Letter written in the
same

name of Philotas, whereat he was ioyfull, as
appeared by his countenance. With that
Cleander stabbed him with his sword in his
side, and after striking him ouer the throte,
the residue thrust him in as he lay dying. But
Parmenio his men which stood neare at
hand, and saue the murther, whereof they
knew not the cause, ran into the Campe, and
with their troublous tydings set all the sol-
diers in a roze. They ran straight to harnesse,
and clustring together about the place where
the murder was done, made an exclamation,
that except Polidamus and the other doers
of that deed were deliuered to their hands,
they would ouerthrow the wall, and make sa-
crifice to their dead captain, with the blood of
the offenders. Cleander willed the chiefe of
them to bee let in, & recited the kings Letters,
wherein was contained the treason of Parme-
nio intended against him, with a request to the
to see it reuenged. When immediatly vpon the
kings pleasure knowne, the sedition was ap-
peased, but yet grudge was not rid out of theyr
hartes. The most part departed sauing a fewe,
which required instantly that at the least they
might bee suffered to burie the bodie. It was
denied them long by reason of Cleander, who
dreaded the Kings displeasure: but because
they began to waite more earnest, intending
to

to auoyd matter of sedition, he cut off the head which hee sent to the King, and left them the body to burie. This was the end of Parmenio, a noble man both in warre and peace: many things had hee done valiantly without the King, but the King without him did neuer any thing worthy praise. He serued & satisfied in all affaires a king most happy and fortunate, and being thre scoze & ten yeeres of age, executed the office of a Captaine as liuely as though he had bene young in yeares, and permitted not often times the parts of a common souldier. He was quicke in counsell, doultie of deed, well beloued of all princes, but most deare to the common sort of souldiers. Yet whether these things moued him to be King, or else caused him to be suspected thereof, it is yet to be doubted. For whether the wordes that Philotas spake, when he was overcome with the pains in his last torments were true or false, or else that hee sought an ende of his paine by accusing himselfe falsely, it was much doubtfull, seeing there was no such thing proued at such time as the matter was most fresh in memorie. Such as Alexander perceiued, to grudge at the death of Philotas, were seperated from the rest of the army, and put into one Cohort vnder Leonidas their Captaine, which in times past was of neare fami-

familiaritie with Parmenio: The king bare private displeasure against them, and therefore willing to proue the disposition of euery man, gaue warning throughout the Army, that all such as would write vnto Macedonia, & haue their Letters surely conueyed, should bring them to be carried with such as hee would send. Whereupon euery man did write frankly to their friends such things as were in their hearts. Some shewed themselves to be offended with the long warres, & some seemed to be well pleased. But all their Letters were intercepted, as well of such as commended the King, as of those that grudged at his doings. Wherefore hee willed such as by their letters disclosed themselves to be wearie of the trauell of the warres, for their reproach to be put in band apart from the rest. Whereby he both gaue them occasion to shewe theyr hardinesse, and besides remoued the libertie of their tongues from the credulous eares of the rest. Which rash deuise, as al other things turned to the setting forth of the Kings felicitie. For in all extremities they shewed themselves the readiest and the most forward: and whilst they coueted to redem their reproach, their valiant doings could not be hidden in so small a number separte by themselves.

These things being ordered after this manner,

ner, he appointed a ruler ouer the Arians, and proclaimed his iourney against the Araspians: which by chaunging of their name, were called Euergitans, since the time that they relieved Cyrus army with lodging & victuals being afflicted with cold and penurie. It was the fift day befoze hee entred into their Countrey, where he understood that Satibarzanes which tooke Bessus part, was with a power of horsemen entred againe amongst the Arians, hee sent against him Caranus and Exigius, and in their ayde Artabazus and Andromachus with sixe thousand Greeke footemen, and sixe hundred horsemen. Alexander continued thre score dayes in setting order amongst the Euergitans: vpon whom he bestowed a great summe of money, for the notable fidelitie they shewed towards Cyrus: and leauing Amenides to bee their gouernour (who was Darius Secretarie) he went to subdue the Arachosians, which border vpon the Sea of Ponte. The men of warre which were vnder Parmenio his rule, came then to Alexander, beeing sixe thousand Macedons, with two hundred of the Nobilitie, five thousand Greeke footemen, and two hundred horsemen, which were the chiefeest force of his power. To these Arachosians, Mennon was appointed Lieftenant, with foure thousand

Infantry, and six hundred horsemen.

Alexander from thence entered with his Armie into a Countrey not knowne unto such as bordered vpon it : for the inhabitants would not haue conuersation with any other people. They were called Paramisadans, being a very rusticall kind of men, and most rude amongst all the barbarous nations : the hardnesse of the countrey had so indurated their dispositions. They lye most towards the colde North pole , ioyning with the Bactrians vpon the West , and bending towards the Indian sea vpon the South. They vse to build theyr houses of bricke , and because the land is full of barren Mountaines, and void of timber, they make their whole houses of the same, which beginning broad beneath , growing euermore narrow towards the toppe , and like the keeles of a Shippe, whereas the holes be made aboue to receiue light. Such of their pines and trees that bring forth fruite, as they wil preserue from the violence of the cold, they couer them with earth during the winter season, and when the snowe is vanished away, they restore them againe to the aire and to the sun. The earth was there couered with snow troden so hard , that there remained no signe of any bird or beast within the Countrey. The

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Persian Sea, and other vnto the Sea of
 Ponte. In 17. dayes Alexander with his
 Army passed the Mount Caucasus, wherein
 a rocke that is ten furlongs in compasse, and
 foure in height, the antiquitie faimed that
 Prometheus lay bound. At the foote of this
 Mountaine Alexander chose out a place to
 build a Citie, wherein he placed 7. thousand
 of the most auncient Macedons, and such o-
 ther besides, whose seruice hee would not be
 any more in the warres, and called the same
 Alexandria. But Bessus that was put in
 feare with Alexanders celeritie, made sa-
 crifice vnto the Gods of his countrey, and ac-
 cording to the custome of those nations, con-
 sulted with his friends and his Captaines, for
 the maintenance of the wars, being at meate.
 And when they were wel charged with wine,
 they extolled greatly their owne power, de-
 spising the rashnes of their enemies, and their
 small number. But chieflie Bessus was most
 arrogant in his words, who puffed vp with
 pride by reason of the kingdome he had newly
 gotten by treason, and not master of his wits,
 began to declare, how that Darius by his
 folly had encreased his enemies fame, who
 would needs fight with them in the Straights
 of Cilicia, when by retiring backe hee might
 haue dzawne them (before they had bin ware)
 into

into desert places, and there haue put riuers
 and mountaines between his enemies & him,
 and amongst the same so enclosed them, that
 they could by no possibilitie haue fled away,
 and much lesse make any resistance. Where-
 fore (he said) he was become of opinion to re-
 tire backe amongst the Sogdians, whereas
 the riuer of Oxus should be as a wall betwixt
 him and his enemies, till such time as hee
 might assemble a strong power of the nations
 thereabout: knowing very well that the Cho-
 rosmions, the Dahans, & Sacans, the Indi-
 ans & Scythians, inhabiting beyond the riuer
 of Tanais, would come to his assistance: of
 whom there was none so little, that any Ma-
 cedon with the top of his head could reach to
 his shoulders. They all in their drunkennesse
 assented to him, affirming that onely to be the
 wisest way: wherevpon Bessus caused the wine
 to be carried about plentifully to conquer A-
 lexander vpon drinke. There was at y^e least one
 Cobares a Median, which in the Art Ma-
 gike (if it be an Art, and not rather a deceit
 of some vaine man) was more notable by his
 profession then by his knowledge, but other-
 wise a moderate and an honest man. Hee ma-
 king a preamble before his tale, said: He was
 not ignozant how much better it were to be
 obedient to others counsell, then to be a coun-

sell giuer. For such as be followers of other mens deuises, are sure to haue no worse fortune then the rest: but such as be authoꝝ and perswaders of any matter, commonly prepare their owne perill, and therewith deliuered the Cup he had in his hand, and proceeded thus.

The nature of man in this respect may be called peruerse and euill, because euery one can see better in other mens matters then in their owne. Their counsels must needs be alwayes full of perturbations, which take their owne aduise. For feare is impediment to some, desire vnto other, and to many the selfe loue of the thing that they haue deuised. I will not speake of pride, nor impute it vnto any man. Yee haue scene experience how euery one doth esteeme that thing onely to be best, which he himselfe hath inuented. The Diadem of a King that you weare vpon your head is a great burthen: which if it be borne moderately, the waight thereof will oppresse the bearer. It is not furie canaile in this case, but wise & prudent counsell.

When he had spoken those words, he rehearsed a pꝛouerbe commonly vsed amongst the Bactrians, which is, that a fearefull dog both bark more then bite, and that the deepest

riuers doth runne with least noyse. Which things I haue rehearsed, because such pꝛudence may appeare as remained amongst the barbarous. As he talked after this manner, such as heard him, wondꝛed to what end his tale would come. Then he began to shewe his aduise, which was moze profitable to Bessus then gratefull.

Alexanders celeritie (quoth he) is such, that he is come in manner to the entrey of your court. He can remoue his army before you can remoue this table. You say that you will draw your assistance from the riuer of Tanais, and that you will put Riuers betwixt you and your enemies. I would know if hee be not able to follow wheresoeuer you shall flye. If the way be indifferent, it must needs be most easie & assured to the victorer. And though you thinke feare will make much speed, yet hope is more swift. It were therefore me thinks expedient to procure the fauour of him that is the mightiest, and yeeld your selfe to the stronger. Howsoeuer hee shall accept it, your fortune is more like to be better that way, then to remaine still an enemy. Consider that you possesse an other mans Kingdome, and therefore ye may the better depart therewithall. For ye cannot be a iust king, till ye receiue the kingdome

of him that is able to giue it, & take it away. There is a faithfull counsell : wherefore it is not necessary to delay the execution thereof. The horse that is of noble courage will bee governed with the shadow of a rod. But the dull beast is not pricked forward with the spurres.

Bessus that was fierce of nature, and well set forward with drinking, became in such a furie with his words, that hee could scarcely bee holden by his friends from the slaying of Cobares, for hee pulled out his sword to haue done the deed, and departed out of the feast in a great rage. But Cobares in this styre escaped away, and came vnto Alexander. Bessus had 8. M. Bactrians armed attending vpon him: which so long as they iudged that by reason of the intemperatenesse of the ayre in those parties, the Macedons would rather haue gone into India then into Bactria, were very obedient at his commandement. But when they vnderstood that Alexander was coming towards them, euery one shrunke away, and forsooke Bessus. When he with a band of his family which were yet faithfull vnto him, passed the Riuer of Oxus, burning such boates as carried him ouer, because that the same should not serue his enemy in following him, & assembled a new po-

wer

wer amongst the Scythians. Alexander at it hath bene said befoze, passed the Mount Caucasus : but for lacke of corne his Army was brought in maner to the extremitie of hunger. In stead of Oyle they were faine to anoynt themselves with a iuce which they wyng out of Selesman: but euery measure thereof called Amphora, was tolde for 240. deniers: euery like measure of honey for 390. and of wine for 300. and yet of the same was very litle to be gotten. They haue in that countrey certaine vessels called Sirye, which the inhabitants vse to hide so priuily, that they cannot be found except they be digged for within the earth. The countrey men burie their corne after that maner, for want whereof the Souldiers were faine to liue with hearbs, and such fish as they caught in the Riuers. But that kinde of fode wanting also, they were enforced to kill their carriage beasts, and liued with the flesh of them vntill they came into Bactria, the nature of the soyle of which countrey is diuers and of sundrie kindes. Some place is plentifull of wood and Vines, and abundant of pleasant fruite, the ground is fatte, well watered, and full of Springs. Those parts which bee most temperate are sowed with corne, and the rest be reserved for feeding of beasts. But the greater part of that

Countrey is covered ouer with barraine
 sands, and withered by soz want of moisture,
 nourishing neither man, nor bringing forth
 fruite: But with certaine windes that come
 from the Sea of Ponte, the sand in the
 plaines is blowne together in heapes, which
 seeme a farre off like great hills, whereby the
 accustomed wayes bee so dammed, that no
 signe of them can appeare. Wherefore such
 as doe passe those plaines vse to obserue the
 starres in the night, as they doe which saile
 the seas, by the course of them directing theyr
 journey. The nightes for the most parte
 be brighte then the dayes: wherefore in the
 day time the Countrey is wilde and unpassa-
 ble, when they can neither finde any tract
 nor way to go in, nor marke nor signe where-
 by to passe, the starres being hidden by the
 mist. If the same winde chaunce to come du-
 ring the time that men bee passing, it ouer-
 whelmeth them with sand. Where the coun-
 trey is temperate, it bringeth forth great
 plentie both of men and horse: So that the
 Bactrians may make 30. thousand Horse-
 men. Bactria which is the head Citie of that
 Region, standeth vnder a Mountaine called
 Paropamisus: the River called Bactras run-
 neth by the walles, whereof both the Citie
 and the countrey take their names. Alexan-
 der

der lying there in campe, receiued aduertise-
 ment out of Greece, how the Lacedemoni-
 ans, and the whole countrey of Poloponese,
 had rebelled against him. For they had not
 lost the battaile at such time as the messengers
 were dispatched that brought the newes of
 their revolt. In the neck of this euill tydings,
 there came another present terrour, which
 was, that the Scythians inhabiting beyond
 the River of Tanais, were comming to ayde
 Bessus. And at the same time tydings came
 to him of the battaile that Caranus and En-
 gius had fought with the Arrians, where Sa-
 tibarzanes that was newly revolted being
 chiefe of the Countrey, seeing the battaile to
 remaine equall on both sides, rid into the fore-
 front, & plucked of his helmet, forbidding any
 of his side either to cast dart, or strike stroke,
 and there made a challenge to fight hand to
 hand, if any man durst come forth and proue
 his strength. Engius captaine to the Mace-
 dons was a man stricken in yeares, but yet not
 inferiour to any young man, eyther in stout-
 nesse of stomacke, or strength of bodie, who
 could not beare the proud arrogancie of Sa-
 tibarzanes, but stepped forwards, and pluc-
 king of his helmet likewise, shewed his hoary
 haire. The day is come (quoth he) that I
 will shewe eyther by the victorie, or by my
 honest

honest death, what kinde of men Alexander hath to his friends and his Souldiers : and without moze words made towards his enemy. It could not be iudged, but that both Armies had stayed their hands by appointment. For they gaue back immediatly on both sides, to let them haue free scope, each partie standing in expectation what should become of the challenger : For they could not but thinke themselves partakers of their aduenture. Satabarzanes first charged his staffe, whiche Erigius auoyded by bending his head aside, but hee in the middelt of his race, strake the other with his speare through the throate, so that it came forth againe at his necke. Satabarzanes vpon that stroke fell downe from his Horse, but yet made resistance till suche time as Erigius plucked the speare out of the wounde, and thrust it againe into his mouth : who to ridde himselfe out of paine, furthered his enemies stroke. When the Arrians seeing theyr Captayne slayne, whome they had followed rather of necessitie than of theyr owne free willes, called to remembrance Alexanders benefites, and yelded themselves vnto Erigius. Alexander reioyced muche of the good successe of this matter, doubting greatly the Lacedemonians : but he bare out theyr rebellion stoutly, saying that they

they durst neuer disclose their meaning, vntill they knewe hee was come to the confines of India. Alexander hauing remoued his Campe, and going forwardes in the pursuit of Bessus, Eurigius mette him, presenting the spoyle of his enemy, as a memorie of his victorie. Wherevpon hee committed the rule of Bactria to Artabasus, where with a garrison he left his carriage, and with a power that was light to iourney, entered into the desertes of the Saitans, conueying his armie by night.

In the want of water (that hath bene declared before) desperation moued them to thirst before they had desire to drinke. For by the space of foure hundred furlonges, they founde no water at all. The vapoure of the sunne being in the Sommer season, did so burne the lande, that when it began to waxe hotte, it starched all things as it had bene with a continuall fire. And then the light somewhat obscured by a mist that rose out of the earth by the immoderate heate, caused the plaines to haue appearance of a maine Sea. Their iourney in the night seemed tollerable, because theyr bodies were somewhat refreshed with the deaw and the colde of the morning. But when the day came, and the heat rose, then the drought drying vp all the naturall humours :
both

both their mouthes and theyr bowelles were inflamed with heate. When their hearts failed, and their bodies fainted, being in case that they coude neyther stand still, nor passe forwardes. A few that were taught by such as knew the Countrey, had gotten water, which refreshed them somewhat: but as the heate increased, so there desire grewe againe to drinke. When was there no remedie but to giue amongst the souldiers all the Wine and Oyle that remained in store. For drinke was so swete vnto them, that it took away the feare of any thyng to come. But such as had gullled in greedily the water that they gotte, became so heauy, that they were neither able to beare their Armeur, nor goe forwardes: so that they seemed then most happie that had gotten no water at all: for such as had taken of it inordinately, were enforced by vomit to put vp the same againe. As Alexander careful in this calamitie stood with his friendes that were perswading of him to haue respect to himselfe, for that he onely, and the greatness of his heart should bee reliefe vnto this aduersitie: There came two souldiers, which going before with such as had taken vp the campe, had found water, & were carrying of it in bottels vnto their sonnes, which were sore afflicted for want of drinke behinde in the Ar-

mye,

mye. When they sawe the King, one of them opened his bottle, and filling a Cup that hee had, presented water to the King: who receiving it at his hande, demaunded to whome they carried that water: they sayd to theyr sonnes. When hee restored to him the cup againe full as it was giuen him, and saide: I will not drinke alone: for so little cannot be deuided amongst vs all. Make you haste therefore to carrie to your sonnes that you haue gotten with your trauaile. But hee trauailed so long, that before night he came to the River of Oxus: The more part of the Army, not able to follow for feblenes, were left farre behind: to the intent therefore that such as followed after, might know where the campe was become, he caused a fire to be made in the top of an hill, and gave order, that when the vaward had refreshed themselves with meate and drinke, they should fill their bottles with water, and goe backe with the same to relieue their fellowes. The breasty of such as drunke intemperately closed vp, and they dyed immediately: the number of whom, was greater then euer Alexander losse in anye battaile. But he would neither put off harneis, refresh himselfe with meate or drinke, nor ease his bodie: but stood in the waye where his Armye passed, not departing till the last man was

was

was come into the Campe. He watched all that night, and passed it over in great trouble of minde. And the day that ensued brought no release of his care. For there were neither boates to passe the River withall, nor hee could make any bridge, seeing there was no wode growing nye at hande. But at length he found out a device, whereunto only necessitie did drive him. They took beasts skins and stuffed them full of strawe, whereupon they layde themselves, and so swome over the water. Such as first recovered the further side, stood in order of battaile till the rest were passed: by which meanes in five dayes he conveyed over his whole Army. Having thus passed over the River of Oxus, his purpose was to passe forwards in the pursuit of Bessus, till he understood such thinges as had chaunced amongst the Sultans. There was one Spitamenes, whom Bessus chiefly honoured of all his friendes. But there be no benefites that can staye a man given to perfide and falshood: whiche in him was the more tollerable, because he iudged no mischief so great for him that hath slaine his Prince. For the reuenge of Darius was a faire colour to his offence: but it is to be thought, that his present fortune was more enuied, then his doing by past hated. When

it

it was knowne that Alexander had passed the River of Oxus, Spitamenes did associate with him in counsell of his enterprize Dataphernes, and Catanes, whom Bessus specially trusted. They agreed to the matter more readily than he would desire them, and taking to them eight young men that were strong of personage, used this kinde of policie. Spitamenes repaired to Bessus, and getting him alone, enformed him that hee had found out howe Dataphernes, and Catanes had conspired to deliuer him alieue into Alexanders handes, whereas (he saide) hee had preuented them, whiles they were about their purpose, having taken them both, and put them fast in prison. Bessus then thinking himselfe much bounde to him for so great a good turne, gaue him many thanks. And for the desire hee had to be reuenged of his enemies, willed Spitamenes to bring them to his presence. He caused theyr handes to bee bounde behinde theyr backes, and to be brought by such as were priue to theyr confederacie. When they came in Bessus presence, hee behelde them with a fell countenance, and rose vp to haue stricken at them. But they left then theyr counterfeiting, and straightwayes enclosing Bessus about, bound him, he struggling in vaine, and pulled the Diademe from his head,

hand, tearing his garment from his backe:
whiche sometime belonged to his Prince,
whom hee had slaine. When he sawe himselfe
in this case, hee confessed that the Gods had
rightfully reuenged his treason, and percei-
ued by plague they sent him, that both they
faoured Darius, and were friends to Alex-
ander, whose enemies euermore preferred
his victorie. It is vncertaine whether the
multitude would haue assisted Bessus or no:
but that Spitamenes had deuised the thing
to bee done by Alexanders appoyntment,
wherby he put them in feare bring yet doubt-
full of minde, and set Bessus vpon an Horse,
wherupon he brought him vnto Alexander.
Hee in the meane season had chosen out nine
hundred, such as by reason of their age were
not meet for the wars, and gaue to euery horse
man two talents, and to euery footeman, three
thousand denyers. What done he dispatched
them home, and gaue thanks vnto the rest,
because they promised to continue with him
till hee had brought his warres to an ende.
Bessus was presented vnto him at a little
Towne, whereof the Inhabiters bee called
Branchidans, which in times past by the com-
maundements of Xerxes when hee came out
of Greece, were brought from Miletum and
placed there, because that in his fauour

they had violated a Temple called Didyma.
They had not altogether forgotten they
countrey customes, but had mixed their tong,
which by little and little were fallen from
their owne language, and yet had not attained
the Countrey speech. They receiued the King
with great ioy, yelding themselves and theyr
Cittie vnto his will. Whereupon he called to
him Miletians that serued him in his wars,
(who bare an auncient hatred against the ge-
neration of the Branchidans) and put in theyr
hands to determine whether they would saue
them for the countrey sake, or else destroy them
for the iniurie they had done in times past.
But when the Miletians could not agree in
opinion, hee saide hee would order the matter
himselfe. The next day when the Branchidans
came to meet him, he returned them all againe
into the Cittie, and commaunded the footemen
to enclose the Cittie about, and entered with
such as he had appointed for the purpose, and
by a token giuen, put all to the sword, and spoi-
led the citie as a receptacle of traytors. They
being without Armour and unprouided, were
slaine in euery place. For neither the affinitie
of their tongue, nor any prayer or intercession
could mitigate theyr enemies crueltie, which
after the destruction of the town did cast downe
the walles to the ground, so that no mema-

ric should remaine. What done they did not onely cut downe the woodes, wherein they vsed theyr sacrifice, but also plucked vp their trees by the rootes, that the ground might be left barren as a desert. If the same thinges had bene done against the very offenders, the reuenge might haue bene thought righteous: but to lay the fault of the predecessors vpon the posteritie, it might be thought a cruell act, seeing there were not any of them that had euer scene Miletum, or done to Xerxes any kind of pleasure. As Alexander remoued from thence towards the Riuer of Tainais, Bessus was brought before him, not onely bound as a captiue, but also spoyled of all his garments: whom Spitamenes led in a chaine put about his necke: a pleasant sight to beholde, as well to the barbarous, as to the Macedons. When Spitamenes was come with him into Alexanders presence, he said:

I haue brought heere vnto you, the killer of his owne maister, after the same manner that he himselfe gaue the example: Wherin I haue both reuenged *Darius* that was my King, and you also that now haue got the sovereignty. Let *Darius* open his eyes, and rise from death, to behold this sight, that was unworthie of such an ende, and worthie to receiue such a comfort as this is.

After

After that Alexander had giuen Spitamenes thanks, he returned himselfe vnto Bessus, and said:

What beastly woodnes moued thee to take thine owne Prince prisoner, and afterwards to kill him, hauing so well deserued of thee? of which thy doings, thou hast receiued sufficient reward, by vsurping the counterfeit name of a King.

He had no heart to make answer or excuse his offence, saying that he said: hee took vpon him to be King, because he might deliuer him possession of the country, which thing if he had omitted, some other he saide would take it in hand. When Alexander called for Oxatres *Darius* brother, whom hee had placed about his person, and committed Bessus to his keeping, to the intent he should cut off his eares and his nose, and hang him vpon a crosse, causing his owne men to shoote him through with arrowes, and so preserve his bodie that Birdes should not touch him. Oxatres promised to performe all the rest, saving the keeping away of the Birdes, which for the desire he had to set forth Catenes cunning, affirmed that none could so well keepe them away as he, who did shoote so assuredly, that hee could strike the Birdes flying in the ayre. And though it was a cunning not so much to be

maruelled at in a Nation so expert in shewing: yet was it greatly wondered at of such as did beholde him, and was great honour vnto the doer. Hee gaue rewards to all such as were the bringers of Bessus, but hee deferred his punishment, because hee minded to put him to death in the same place where hee slew Darius. The Macedons in the meane season going a foraging without order, were ouerthrowne by the enemies that came running downe from the next mountaines. They tooke more than they did kill, and dringing they prisoners before them, retired againe vnto the mountaines. There were of them to the number of twentie thousand, which accustomed to liue by the, using slinges and bowes in they fight, whom whilest Alexander did besiege, and in a skirmish pressed forth with the foremost, he was stricken with an arow in the middle of his leg, where the head stuck still. The Macedons that were sorrowfull and amazed for their Kings hurt, carried him into his tent, of whose departure out of the fildes his enemies were not ignorant, for they might behold all thinges from the Mountaines. The next day they sent Embassadors vnto Alexander, whom he admitted to his presence, and unfolding his wound (wherby he thought to dissemble the greatnes thereof) shewed his leg vnto

vnto them. When they were commaunded to sit downe, they said, that hearing of his hurt, they were as sorrowfull for it as his own subjects, which should well be knowne: for if they could finde out the person that did the deed, hee should be deliuered into his hands: they could not (they saide) iudge them but Sacrileges, that would fight with Gods, of whose vertue they supposed him to be, and therefore were determined to yeeld themselves. Whereupon hee gaue vnto them assurance, and receiuing againe his men that were taken prisoners, admitted them as his subjects. What done, hee remoued his campe, and was carried in a sote litter: for the bearing wherof the horsemen and footemen contended together. The horsemen alledged it to be their office, because the King vied to fight among them. And the footemen alledged, that in as much as they vied to carrie the hurt souldiers, they thought no reason their office should be taken from them, chiesely when the King should be carried. Alexander therefore in so great contention of both partes, thought it a difficult matter for him to giue sentence, because the iudgement should be greuous to them that should be put from the Office, and there ordered that they should carry him by course. From thence the fourth day he came vnto a Citie called Maracanda,

the walles whereof were threescore and ten furlongs about, but the Castle was without any wall: hee set a Garrison in the Citie, and then burned and destroyed the country thereabouts. Embassadors came vnto him thither from the Scythes called Auians, which had bene free since the time that Cyrus was among them: but yet they shewed themselves then readie to bee at his commaundement. They were knowne to be the most righteous people of all the barbarous Nations, as men that neuer vsed to make warre, but when they were prouoked: whose moderation & temperance in vsing of their libertie, made the inferiours equall vnto the superiours. Alexander receiued them gently, & sent Penidas a friend of his to those Scythes that inhabited within Europe, to forbidde them to passe the River of Tanais without his appointment: Who had also a secret commission to view the situation of the Country, and to visit those Scythians that inhabited about Bosphorus. Hee willed him besides to chuse out a place vpon the brinke of Tanais, whereas hee might build a Citie, to remaine as a Fortresse, for the subduing of those people that hee intended to visite. But this deuise was delayed by the rebellion of the Sogdians, who had also drawne the Bactrians to their part. There were of them seven thousand

thousand horsemen, whose authoritie the rest followed: for the aduantage of whom Alexander caused Spitamenes and Catenes (the betrayers of Bessus) to bee sent for, thinking by their meanes to bring the countie againe to his obedience, and to subdue such as had made this stirre. But they which were iudged meete to stay the rebellion, and were sent for that intent, were the chiefe authors of all the reuolt. For they caused it to be noised abroad, that Alexander had sent for the Bactrian horsemen of purpose to kill them all: which commission (they said) being appointed to them, they would not execute, because they thought itouer-seule an act to commit against their country me. And for y cause could as ill beare Alexanders crueltie then, as in times past Bessus treason. By this meanes, when feare of death was put into their heads, they were easily stirred to armes, which before were sufficiently inclined of their owne minds. When Alexander was aduertised of their doings, he willed Craterus to besiege Ciropolis. And he himselfe won an other citie of that country by an assault that he gaue to it on all parts at once, and by a signe giuen caused all y children to be put to death, making the rest a pray for the souldiers. This done the Citie was rased to the ground, to the intent that others by their

ensample might be kept in obedience. There
was a valiaunt people called Memaccians,
who were determined to abide the siege, not
onely for theyr honesties sake, but also for
that they thought it mooste for theyr suretie.
For the mitigating of whose wilfulnesse, the
king sent vnto them fiftie horsemen to declare
his clemencie towarde such as submitted
themselves, and how incrozable he was vnto
such as he wan by force. Their answer was,
that they neither doubted of the kings pro-
mise, nor of his power: but after their answer
giuen, they lodged them without the walles,
whereas entertaining them with great cheare
vntill it was the daze of the night, set vppon
them, and slew them all. Alexander was no
lesse moued with this matter, than the cause
required, but made an assault vnto the Citie
on all parts at once, which hee found furnished
in such wise, that hee could not take it at the
first attempt. Wherefore he appointed Me-
leager and Perdicas vnto the siege thereof,
which then were besieging of Ciropolis, min-
ding to spare the same, because it was build-
ed by Cyrus. For he had not so great admi-
ration of any king that had reigned in those
parts, as of him and Semiramis: whose mag-
nimitie of minde, & fame of their great acts,
seemed to him to succede all the rest: but the
obstinate

of Quintus Curtius. 189
obstinate wilfulnesse of the inhabitants stir-
red vp his wrath. For when he had taken the
Citie, hee willed the Macedons to spoyle it
which had great cause to bee moued against
them, and so returned againe to Meleager
and Perdicas. There was not one Citie that
did more valiantly abide the siege, than the
same did: for both the hardiest of the souldi-
ers were slaine, and the king was brought in
great danger, being stricken in the necke with
a stone, so that his sight failed him, and was
felled to the earth, so that he lost his sence. The
armie lamented, thinking hee had bene dead:
but he was inuincible againe. At those things,
which put other men in most feare. For with-
out tarrying hee dressed his wound, returning
to the fight, and after anger had stirred vp the
eagernesse he had of nature, hee renewed the as-
sault againe more fiercely then before. At
length a great peece of the wall was ouer-
throwne by a mine, at which hee brake in, and
put the whole Citie to lacke and ruine. Hee
sent from thence Menedemus with thre
thousand footemen, and eight hundred horse-
men, to the citie of Maracanda, which Spita-
menes had newly taken, & put out fro thence
the garrison of the Macedons: Yet the Citti-
zens were not of this opinion: but when they
sawe they could not withstand him, it was of
necessitie

necessitie for them to agree to his will. Alexander in the meane season came to the River of Tanais, where hee enclosed about with a wal so much ground as his camp did contain, extending in compasse three score furlongs, and named the same Citie Alexandria. This thing was done with such expedition, that within seuentene dayes after the wals were bp, the houses also were builded. And y whole was performed in a very smal season, though the contention amongst the souldiers, who should performe his worke first, when the same was divided into portions among them. Their prisoners (whose ransomes Alexander paide to their takers) were appointed to inhabite this Citie. The descent of whom after so long time are not yet worne out: such fauour hath bene shewed to them, in the memorie of Alexander. The King of Scythia, whose Empire was then beyond the River of Tanais, iudging that the fortifying vpon the Rivers side, should be as a yoke to his necke, sent his brother Carcas with a great power of horsemen to defeat the fortification, and to remooue away the Macedons from the waters side. That river deuideth the Bactrians from the Scythians of Europe, & is the limit which parteth Asia and Europe asunder. But the Countries that the Scithes inhabite, do stretch

stretch as farre as Thracia, and lye betwixt the North and the East, ioyning with Sarmacia, and possessing part of it. The Countie also that lyeth beyond the River of Ister, is inhabited by them, their uttermost bounds stretching to Bactria, & to the further bounds of Asia Northward, whereas bee wonderfull great woods and wilde desarts. But such of them as bounded neare vnto Tanais and Bactria, lacked not much the ciuilitie of other Nations. This being the first time that Alexander had to doe with these people, when he saw that then he had to enter into a warre, for the which he was not prouided, his enemies riding bp and downe in his sight, and he diseased of his wound, especially not hauing the vse of his speech, which failed much by reason of his long abstinence, and the paine in his necke: called his friends to counsell, and declared vnto them that he was not troubled with any feare of his enemies, but with the iniquitie of the time, the Bactrians rebelling, and the Scythians prouoking him, when neither hee was able to stand vpon the ground, strong enough to ride on horsebacke, or in case to giue aduise or exhortation to his men. In consideration therefore of the doubtfull daunger hee saue himselfe wrapped in, hee accused the Gods, complaining that hee

hee was then enforced to lye still as a stocke, whose swiftnesse befoze time none was able to escape. The matters grew so great, that his owne men beleued hee had counterfeited his sicknesse for feare. And therefore he which since the ouerthrow of Darius had left consultation with the diuiners and prophets, turned himselfe againe to the vanitie and superstition of man, willing Aristander (vnto whom hee was addicted in beleefe) that hee should trie out by sacrifice what his successe should bee. The custome of them which were called Aruspices, was to consider the intrailles of the beasts without the king, and to make report of the signification. In the meane season whilst they were searching secrets that way, hee willed Epheslion, Craterus, Engius, and other his friends to draw neare about him, least by straining of his voyce hee might breake out his wound againe, and said thus vnto them:

The danger I am in, hath caused the time to serue better for mine enemies, then for me: necessitie I see chiefly in the warres to goe before reason. For it is sildome giuen to men, to choose their owne time. The Bactrians be reuolted, vpon whose shoulders yet we stand, purposing to trye what courage we be of, by our behauiour towards the

the Scithians. If we leaue off with doubtful fortune, and not meddle with them, which of their owne minds haue prouoked vs: we shall at our returne bee had in contempt of them whom we entend to visit. But if wee shall passe the Riuer of *Tanais*, and by the destruction of the Scithians and sheading of their bloud, shewe our selues inuincible e- uery where, who will then doubt but that *Europe* will lye open, and giue obedience to vs being victors? hee is deceiued that dooth measure by any distance the bounds of glory we intend to passe. There is but one Riuer that letteth vs now, for bringing of our power ouer *Europe*, which if we shall bring, what an estimation shall it be for vs, whiles we be subduing of *Asia*, to set vp the monuments of our victories, as it were in a new world, ioyning so soone together with one victorie, the thing that nature seemeth to haue deuided, with so great distance: but if we shall stay neuer so litle, & giue ground, the Scithians will then come after vs, and pursue vs in the taile. Be there no more but we that haue passed the Riuer? there bee many inuentions yet remaining amongst our selues, whereby we haue gotten many victories. But fortune of the warre dooth teach policie to such as be overcome: wee haue

haue shewed a president of late to swimme
ouer Riueres vpon bottles : which thing if
the Scythians cannot do, the Bactrians shall
teach them. It is but the power of one nation
that now commeth against you : all the o-
ther yet stand in a stay to vnderstand of our
doings. So that by eschewing battell, we shall
nourish warre, and be compelled to receiue
those blows, which lie in vs to giue to others.
The reason of my aduise is manifest. But
whether the Macedons will suffer me to vse
my owne disposition I doubt, because that
since I receiued this wound, I haue not rid-
den on horseback, nor gone on foote. If you
will follow me my friends, I am whole : I
gaue them strength inough to endure these
things. And if the end of my life be at hand,
wherein can I spend it better ?

These words that he spake, were vttered
with a broken and weak voice, so that they
could scarcely bee heard of such as were next
him. But when his meaning was perceiued,
all that were present went about to fray him
from so rash an enterprize. But Erigius
wrought chiefly in y^e matter, who perceiuing
that his authoritie could not preuaile against
the kings obstinate mind, attempted to work
him by religion, which he iudged of greater
force. For he declared that the Gods were a-
gainst

his determination, which had signifi-
ed great perill to ensue, if he passed the riuer.
He said he had vnderstood that thing by Ari-
stander, who told him at his comming into
the pavilion, what hee had perceiued in the
beasts intrailles. Alexander vpon his words
was wonderfully troubled both with anger
and shame, when he sawe the secrets of y^e reli-
giō brought to light, which he thought to haue
kept secret to himselfe : and therfore caused E-
rigius to go aside, and Aristander to be called
in vnto him, whom hee beheld in the face, and
said :

I seeme to thee rather a priuate man than
a king : I commanded thee to make sacrifice,
and thou hast declared the significatiō ther-
of to other, and not to me. For *Erigius* by thy
report knoweth the priuities pertaining to
me : But sure I iudge that through his owne
feare he deuised an interpretatiō of himselfe.
Therefore let me heare of thine own mouth
what thou hast found in the intrailles, to the
intent thou shalt not denie that thou hast
spoken.

Aristander therebpon was amazed, and
looked pale, not able to answere one word for
feare. But at length the same feare that made
him hold his peace, pricked him forwards to
speake, least the prolonging of the kings ex-
pectation

pectation might prouoke him vnto further
wzath, answered :

I said (quoth he) there was in the enterprise
great danger & difficultie: but yet that your
attempt should not be in vaine, there is no-
thing that I haue perceiued by my science,
troubleth me so much as the loue I beare to
you wardes: for I both consider your infir-
mitie, and what a moment consisteth in your
owne person, fearing you should not be able
to endure the things that fortune is disposed
to giue vnto you.

When Alexander heard him speake after
that manner, he willed to haue confidence in
his felicitie, to whom fortune had graunted
glorie in greater things, and thereupon dis-
missed him. Afterwards as the King was
debating with such as he consulted with be-
foze, by what meanes he should passe the Ri-
uer: Aristander came amongst them, affir-
ming that he had found the intrayles contrary
to that hee did befoze, with as likely signes of
good successe as any that euer he sawe, shew-
ing them then as great causes to reioyce, as
he did befoze to feare. But immediately here-
upon Alexander receiued newes that much
impaired the continuall felicitie he was wont
to haue in all his proceedings. Menedemus
being sent (as it hath bene said befoze) to be-
siege

siege Spitamenes, the authoꝝ of the Bactri-
ans rebellion: when he vnderstood of his ene-
mies comming, both in auoiding to bee inclo-
sed within wals, and trusting besides to take
some aduantage of the Macedons, laid an
ambushment to entrap them. There was a
wood thzough the which they should passe, be-
ry apt for the purpose, where he laid the Da-
hans, whose custome was to carry two armed
men vpon one horse, from whence they vsed
to leape downe by course. And by reason the
swiftnesse of the footmen was little inferioꝝ to
the horsemen, they troubled greatly the order
of the horsemens fight. Spitamenes gaue or-
der to them, that when their enemies should
enter into the wood, they should enuiron them
on all sides, which when they performed ac-
cording to their appointment, Menedemus
being himselfe inclosed on all parts, and not
equall in number vnto his enemies, resisted a
great while, crying out to the souldiers, that
there remained no hope to them, being intrap-
ped after that maner, but by making slaughter
vpon their enemies, to receiue the comfort of
an honest death. Menedemus rode vpon a
strong horse, charging oft times vpon his e-
nemies, whereby he brake their order, & made
great slaughter, till such time as he being laid
on all parts, receiued many wounds, and

fainted for want of blood. When he exhorted
 Hippias that was one of his friends, to leape
 upon his horse and escape away, and with that
 word he swayed, and fell from his horse to the
 ground. Hippias might have got away, but
 after he had lost his friend, determined there to
 die, taking no other care but how to spend his
 life with loss of his enemies. Wherefore he
 put his spurs to the horse, and ran in amongst
 them, where he fought notably, and at length
 was slain. When the rest saw this overthrow
 and loss of their Captaine, they recovered
 an hill, where Spitamenes did besiege them,
 thinking to subdue them for want of victuals.
 There were slain in the battaile two thou-
 sand footemen, and three hundred horsemen:
 which misadventure Alexander with great
 policie kept secret, commaunding them that
 departed from the field, upon paine of death
 not to publish this matter abroad. But when
 he could not beare out any longer a coun-
 ter-nance contrary to his heart, he went alone to
 his pavilion which he had set of purpose upon
 the Riuers side. There he walked all
 night, deuising with himselfe what was best
 to doe. And diuers times he lifted up his
 tent to behold the fires in his enemies camp,
 thereby to coniecture their number. When
 the day appeared, he put on a Cozleat, and
 came

came forth amongst the souldiers, being the
 first time they had seene him since he recei-
 ued his hurt. They bare such a veneration
 unto their King, that with his presence onely
 they put away the remembrance of the
 feare which caused them before to shrink, and
 reioiced so hartily, that when they saluted
 him, the teares distilled from their eyes, and
 earnestly required the fight which before they
 had refused. He took order there amongst
 them, that the horsemen, & such as were of the
 square battaile of footemen, should be carried
 ouer in boates, and that the light armed
 should swimme upon bottles. Neither the
 matter required any more to be spoken, nor
 the King could not say much more by reason
 of his infirmities. For the souldiers went a-
 bout the matter with such good will & cheere-
 fulnesse of minde, that within three dayes they
 had finished twelue thousand boats. When all
 things were prepared in readinesse for their
 passage, there came 20. Embassadors of the
 Scythians riding by the campe, which requi-
 red that it might be declared to the King, that
 they had matter in commission to declare to him.
 When they were receiued into his pavilion
 and commanded to sit downe, they fixed their
 eyes continually upon the Kings countenance,
 whereby it was thought, that weighing the
 great

greatnesse of his courage by his personage that they sawe present, it appeared vnto them but small in respect of the same they heard of him. The wits of the Scythians be not rude and without knowledge, as other barbarous people be. For it is said that many of them attaine to such learning as is possible for a nation being alwaies in exercise of the warres. Whose words spoken vnto Alexander, be left in memorie: which though they differ from the manner of vs that haue happened in more ciuill times, and framed our selues to a more humanitie, yet the fidelitie of the matter is not to be despised, though the phrase of their speech is not allowed. And therefore I shall declare vncorruptly the sayings which the eldest of those Embassadors did speake after this maner.

If the Gods had giuen thee a body according to the vn-satiabie desire of thy minde, the world shuld not be able to receiue thee, but shouldest touch the Orient with one hand, & the Occident with the other: which thing once obtained, thy care should be to become equall to the Gods. Thus thou dost couet the thing thou art not able to compass. From *Europe* thou goest into *Asia*, and from *Asia* passe into *Europe*. It must come to passe, that if thou ouercome al man-
kinde,

kinde, thou must keepe warre with woods and snowes, with Riuers and wilde beasts. What? art thou ignorant that trees do grow till they be great, and then be plucked vp from the roote in a moment? He is a foole that coueteth fruite, and considereth not the height of the tree wheron it groweth. Take heed least whiles thou dost labour to attain to the toppe, thou fallest with the bowes which thou dost embrace. The Lyon hath bene sometime the foode of small Birdes, and the rust doth consume the Iron. There is nothing so sure that is not in danger of his inferiour. What haue we to doo with thee? We neuer touched thy countrey. It is not lawfull for vs that liue in the waste woods, to be ignorant what thou art, & from whence thou comest? We can neither be subiect to any man, nor to desire to rule ouer any creature. And because ye shall not be ignorant of the state of our nation, wee haue certaine gifts in proper vnto vs: the yoake of Oxen, the Plough, the Speare, the Bowe & the Bowle: which be the things that we vse both with our friends, and against our enemies. We do giue vnto friends, of the fruites gotten with our labour. With the Bowle we sacrifice Wine vnto the Gods. With the Bowe wee strike our enemies a farre off.

and with the Speare neare at hand. After that sort in times past wee ouercame the King of *Scithia*, and afterwards the King of *Persie* and *Media*, making the way open to vs into *Egipt*. But thou which doost glorie, that art come to be a persecuter of theeues, art a robber of all nations that thou comest amongst. Thou hast taken *Lidia*, possessed *Siria*, enioyed *Persie*, and hast the *Bactrians* vnder thy power. Thou doost visit the *Indies*, and now stretchest forth thy rauenous hands vnto our cattle. Why doost thou couet that riches that causeth thee to be poore? Thou art the first of al men which with abundance hast prepared thy self hunger, and that which the more thou hast, the more greedily thou doost couet the things thou hast not. Doost thou not remember how long thou hast sticked about *Bactria*? And whiles thou goest about to subdue them, how the *Sogdians* begin to rebell? Thus warre dooth growe vnto thee of thy victorie. For bee thou neuer so great and puissant, aboue any other, yet there bee none that can endure to bee gouerned by a straunger. Passe now *Tanais*, thou shalt perceiue what breadth it beareth, and yet thou shalt neuer ouertake the *Scythians*, whose pouertie is swifter then thy

Army,

Army, carrying the spoyle of so many Nations. For when thou shalt thinke vs to be far off, thou shalt see vs within thy camp: with like swiftnes, we follow, and flye away. I heare that our desarts be scorned by the Greeke prouerbes, wee couet rather those desartes and places vnhabited, then Cities and plentifull Countries. Therefore hold thou thy fortune fast: for she is fickle, and cannot be kept against her will. Follow thou the counsell that is good, specially whiles the time doth serue. Put a bridle to thy felicitie, and thou shalt gouerne it the better. We say that fortune is without feete, and that shee hath onely hands and wings: but when she putteth forth her hand, shee will not suffer her wings to be touched. If thou bee a God, then giue benefites vnto mortall men, and take not away the commodities they haue already. If thou bee a man consider thine own estate. It is foolishnesse to remember those things which cause thee to forget thy selfe. Such as by warre thou makest thine enemies, by peace thou mayst make them thy very friends. The most firme friendship is amongst them that be equall, & they seeme equall which haue yet made any triall of their force. Take heed thou take them not for thy friends,

Cc 4

whom

whom thou diddest subdue and bring to subiection. There is no friendship betweene the Lord and the slaue: and in peace the lawe of armes is obserued. Thinke not that the Scythians doo confirme their friendship with any oath: for they thinke they sweare in keeping of their faith. The custome of y^e Greeks is to iustifie their dooings by calling theyr Gods to witnesse: But we acknowledge religion to consist in the faith it selfe. They that doo not theyr due reuerence vnto men, deceiue the Gods. Thinke not those friends to be necessary vnto thee, of whose good will thou shalt need to doubt. Thou maiest vse vs as keepers both of *Europe* and *Asia*, for we should ioine with *Bactria* but that *Tanais* doth diuide vs: And beyond *Tanais* our dominion stretcheth so farre as *Thracia*, and the same is, that *Thracia* confineth with *Macedon*. Consider therefore whether it be necessary for thee or no, to haue vs as friends or foes to both thine Empires.

These were the Scythians words, to whom the King made answer:

That he would both vse his owne fortune, and their counsell that aduised him well. He would follow his fortune (he said) because he had great confidence in it, and other mens counsell, because he would do nothing rashly, nor vpon a suddaine.

Where

Whereupon he dismissed y^e Embassadors, and embarked his armie in the boats he had prepared. In the foreparts of the boates he set such as had Targets, willing them to kneele vpon theyr knees for their more safegard against the shot of arrowes. And they were placed behind them that had the charge of the Engines, who before and on both sides were enclosed with armed men. The rest that stood beyonde the Engines, being armed themselves, defended with Targets such as rowed. The same order was also obserued in those boats that carried ouer the horsemen. The more part drew their horses after them by the reynes, swimming at the boates taile, and such as were carryed vpon trusses filled with strawe, were defended by the boates that rowed betwixt them and their enemies. Alexander with such men as he had chosen to be about his person, first landed from the land, and directed his course towards the further side. The Scythians came against them with theyr horsemen in order of battaile, standing vpon the brinke of the further shore to let their landing: whose shewe being a terrour to the Macedons, they had also another cause of feare in their passing ouer. For the boat-maisters were not able to keepe their course against the force of the streame. And the souldiours swaying to and fro, for the

the doubt they had to fall in the water, troubled the Barriners in doing of theyr office. By reason whereof the Macedons could not haue scope to cast theyr Darts with any force, taking moze care howe to place themselves out of perill, then for to annoy theyr enemies. Theyr Engines stode them in great stead, which sildome did shoote in vaine agaynst theyr enemies that stode thicke befoze them, profering to resist theyr landing. When the Scythians saue them neare the shoare, they did shoote an infinite number of arrowes into the Boates, so that there was not in manner any Tarket that had not many heads sticking in it. At length the Boates arrived at the land: then the Tarket men did rise vpon theyr scote, and hauing moze scope and sure footing, they throw theyr Dartes moze certainly and with greater force: whereby perceiuing theyr enemies to shrink, and reyne backe their horses, they then leaped chearefully vnto the lande, one exhorting and encouraging another, and freely pursued them, whom they saue fall out of arraye. By that time Alexanders horsemen whiche had assembled themselves in troupes, brake vpon theyr enemies, and put them to great disorder. In the meane season the rest being defended by them that were fighting, landed and prepared themselves to the

the battaile. For Alexander letted not with stoutnesse of courage to supplie the impotency of his bodie. His voyce could not bee heard when he spake and exhorted his men (the scar of his wounde not yet closed) but all men might see him fighting. Wherefoze euery one bled the office of a Captaine in giuing exhortation vnto his fellows, and ranne vppon theyr enemies without respect of theyr owne liues. When the Scythians could not endure any longer the countenance, the force, nor the crye of theyr enemies, but being all on horsebacke fled away vpon the spurres: whom the King pursued fourescore furlonges, notwithstanding that with great paine hee endured his infirmitie. When his hart fainted, he commanded his men that they should followe still in the chase so long as the day lasted: and not hauing strength to sustaine any further fraile, returned into his campe to rest himselfe. The Macedons in theyr pursuite passed the boundes of Bacchus: in monument of whom there were great stones set vp of equall distance, and high trees whose stockes were covered ouer with Iuie. But no boundes could be a stay to the Macedons, being carryed forwarde in theyr furie: for it was midnight before they returned againe to their campe: who having killed many, and taken a great number

ber of prisoners, did drive before them a thousand eight hundred horses. There were slain of the Macedons threescore horsemen: of the footemen to the point of a thousand one hundred were hurt. This enterprise with the fame of the victorie falling in so good season, kept the more part of Asia in obedience, which was at the point to have rebelled. For they beleaved that the Scythians were invincible who being vanquished, they indged no nations able to withstand the power of the Macedons. The Sacans therefore after this victorie, sent their Embassadors unto Alexander, offering themselves to come under his obedience. To the doing whereof they were not so greatly moved with feare of his force, as they were with report of his clemencie shewed towards the Scythians, after he had discomfited them. For he delivered home all their prisoners without raunsome, to witnesse unto the world that he made war with those fierce Nations to shew his power & his vertue, and not for any malice, nor to shewe his wrath upon them. That was the cause that he so gently received the Embassadors of the Sacans, calling Excipimus to accompany them: who being a beautifull yong man in the first flower of his youth, was in that respect in great favour & familiaritie with Alexander: in personage

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was like Ephestion, but inferior to him in pleasantnesse of speech. After this Alexander giving order to Craterus to followe him in small iourneys with the greater part of his army, he himselfe came to the citie of Maranda, from whence Spitamenes that heard of his coming was fled into Bactria. The king therefore making great iourneys foure dayes continually, came into the place whereas by the conduct of Menedemus hee had lost 3000. footmen, & 3000. horsemen. Whose bones he caused to be gathered together, celebrating their funerals after their Country maner. By that time Craterus with the Phalanx was come to the king: and to th' intent he might pursue with the sword all such as had rebelled, he divided his power into diuers parts, commanding them to burne in euery place where they went, and to kill all the children. The country of the Sogdians for the more part is waste, by reason of the great desarts that stretch ouer thwart the Country. The River called Politicum, passed in maner thzough the length of it, which runneth a space violently in a narrow chanel, and then is receiued into a hole of the earth, from whence it passeth vnderneath the ground: whose course is manifest by the noise of the water that may bee heard. And yet on all the ground vnder the which so great

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a river doth runne, there doth not appeare any moisture put forth. Of the captives that were taken amongst the Sogdians, there were thirtie of the most noble brought to Alexander: which understanding by an Interpreter, that by the Kings commaundement they should be put to execution, began as men in mirth to sing and daunce, and by a certaine lasciuious motion of their bodies exprest a great ioyfulness of the minde. Alexander maruelling that they took their death with such stoutnes and magnanimitie of heart, called them vnto him, enquiring why they shewed so great a gladnesse, when they had death before their face. They answered that if they had bene put to death by any, sauing by such a one as he was, they should haue taken their death sorrowfully. But now seeing they should be restored vnto their predecessors by a King that was a conquerour of all Nations, they reioyced in their honest death, as the thing that all men should wish and desire. The king then maruelling at their magnimitie. I enquire of you (quoth he) if you can be content to liue, and become friends to him, by whose benefite you shall receiue life. They said, that as they neuer were his enemies (but as they were prouoked by occasion of the warres) euen so if he would make an experiment of them rather by a benefite

than an iniury, they would labour not to be overcome in good will, nor in doing the thing that pertained to their dutie. He asked what pledge they would laie of their promise, they sayd, their liues they had receiued should be their pledge, readie to be yielded againe, when it were required. Wherein they brake no promise: for such of them as were returned home into their Country, kept the people in good obedience: and foure of them that were appointed to be of the Kings gard, gaue place to none of the Macedons in loue or affection towardes their Prince. When he had ordered all things amongst the Sogdians, he left Peucolau there with three thousand men of war, and remoued into Bactria, from whence he commaunded Bessus to be carried to Ecbatana, there to suffer death for the killing of Darius. About the same time Ptolomeus and Menidas brought three thousand footemen, and a thousand horsemen of mercenary souldiours: and one Alexander came to him out of Licia with three thousand footemen, and five hundred horsemen. Asclepeodorus had leuiued the like number out of Siria. Antipater sent eight thousand Grekes, amongst whom there were five hundred horsemen. When he had thus encreased his Armie with the supplie of his new power, he went about in every place

to quiet those sturres that had bene rased by
by the rebellion. And hauing slaine them that
were the authoꝛs and beginners thereof, the
fourth day came to the Riuer of Oxus, which
being a water vnwholesome to be drunke (be-
cause it is euer troubled and full of mudde) the
Macedons fell to digging of welles: and when
by digging deepe they could finde no water, a
spring suddainly appeared in the Kings Tent,
which because it was not founde at the first,
they sayned it to come by miracle. Therewith
the king was pleased, & contented men should
belæue that the same was sent by the gift of
God. Whe he had passed the riuers of Ochus
and Oxus, they came vnto a citie called Mar-
ginia, neare vnto the which he chose out pla-
ces for the building of sixe towncs: whereof he
planted two towarde the South, and foure
towards the East: euery one distant a small
pace from an other, to the intent that they
mutuall assistance in time of need should not
be farre to seeke. They were all scituate vpon
on high hilles, as bridels to keepe vnder those
wilde Nations. But now they haue forgot-
ten theyꝛ originall, and be subiect vnto those
they were wont to rule. The King hauing
subdued all the rest, one Rocke onely remain-
ed, which Arimazes a Sogdian had taken
with thirtie thousand armed men, & furnished

the same of victuals for two yeeres. The same
rooke was thirtie furlongs in height, and an
hundred & fiftie about, being in all parts steepe
and broken, hauing one straight path onely to
passe vpon it. In the mid way to the top, it
had a caue which was narrow & darke in the
entry: but by little & little it wared wider, and
had moze large lodgings within for a great
multitude, and was besides so full of springs,
that when they met together, they ran downe
the rooke like a great Riuer. Alexander be-
holding the strengt, of this place, and the dif-
ficultie to win it, determined to depart from
thence. But there entred soderly into his hart
a desire to weary nature, and worke against
her power. Yet befoze that he would attempt
the fortune of any siege, hee sent Cophes the
son of Artabazus, to perswade them to giue
it ouer. Arimazes vpon trust of the strength
of the place, answered in all things arrogant-
ly, but specially in that he asked if Alexan-
der could flie. Which words reported to the
king, did put him in such a furie, that straight-
waies hee called for such as hee vsed to consult
withall, declaring the pride and presumption
of Arimazes, and after what manner he had
scorned him. But shortly (he sayd) he would
deuise such a pollicie, that hee would make
him thinke the Macedon had winges. Hee

required them therefore that out of the whole Army they would chouse out and bring to him three hundred of the most light young men which had bene accustomed to drive beastes amongst the rockes and straight paths of the mountaines: wherupon they brought such to the king, as both for lightnes of body, & hardines of hart, were most mate for such a purpose: Unto whom he said:

My fellowes that be of mine owne age, with you haue I won citiees that were counted inexpugnable, and haue passed the tops of mountaines couered continually with snow. With you I haue gone through the straights of *Silicia*, and haue without wearinesse sustained the violence of the colde: whereby I haue experience of you, and you of me. The rock which you see hath but one entry, which our enemies doo obserue, the rest they neglect. They keepe no watch but towards our campe. If you diligently search, you shall find some way to bring you to the top. Nature hath made nothing so high, but that it may be attained too by the industry of man. In putting things in prooffe, whereof other haue dispaired, we haue gotten *Asia* into our possession: Deuise you the means to get vp into the top, which when you haue taken, you shall giue a tokē to me by setting
vp

vp of some white cloath. You shall see mee then come forwards with my power, and turn the enemies from you towards me. He shall haue ten talents for a reward that doth recover the top first, and he that getteth vp next, shall haue one lesse, and the like order shalbe obserued with ten of the first. I am assured you regard not so much my liberalitie, as my fauour.

When they had heard the king speake after that manner, they imagined the thing won, and departing out of his presence, prepared strong ropes & iron hookes which they might fasten to the rockes, & so climbe vp. The king brought them about the rocke, whereas it seemed least steepe and most plaine to mount vpon, and in the second watch willed them to passe forwards with good speed. They being furnished with two daies victuals, and armed onely with swords and speares, at first went forwards without any great difficultie. But when they came to the steepenesse of the rock, some tooke hold of the broken crags to lift vp themselves, and some fastening theyr hookes on the rockes, clame vp by the ropes. They were compelled to rest and stay diuers times, and so consumed the day in trauell and feare. When they had passed many difficult places, further difficulties alwayes appeared, the
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height of the rocke seeming to grow more and more. When they sayled eyther of theyr hold, or of their footing, it was a miserable thing to see how they fell downe headlong, shewing to the other by theyr misfortune, an ensample what was likely to come of them. Forwith, standing at length through all these difficulties they got vp vnto the top, where they all wearied with the trauaile of theyr continuall labour, and some with the hurts and maimes they had receiued, slept there all that night, amongst the wilde and rough Rockes, vnmindfull of the perill they were in. When it was day they wakened out of theyr deepe sleepe, and beholding the valleyes vnderneath them, were ignoraunt in what part of the Rocke so great a multitude of theyr enemies should lye. But at length when they perceiued by the smoake in what place they were, they vpon the pointes of two speares set vp the signe that was appoynted them, and found than in theyr coming vp they had lost of theyr number two and thirtie. The King being carefull not so much for the desire he had to winne the Rocke, as for to saue those whom hee had sent to so manifest a danger, stood all day beholding the top of the Mountaine. And when darknes of the night took away the prospect of the eyes, he departed to refresh

his body. The next day before it was full light, he perceiued the white cloth set vp in the top of the Rock: but the varietie of the aire, and the sunne beginning to appeare, and yet hidden, caused him to doubt a while whether his sight had sayled him or not. But when it was full & open day, it appeared manifestly, & all doubt was remoued. Then he called Cophes, by whom he had attempted their mindes before, willing him once againe to exhort them to be better aduised. And if so bee that in trust of their strength, they would not submit themselves, that then he should shew to them the men that had taken the Rocke ouer their heads. When Cophes came thither, he began to perswade Armazes to giue vp his strength, thereby to winne the Kings fauour, and not enforce Alexander to stay in the siege of a Rocke, hauing so many weightie affaires in hand: but hee found him more obstinate and proud then he did before, and willed Cophes to depart and moue him no more in the matter. When hee took Ari-mazes by the hand, & required him to go with him out of the Caue. When they were come whereas they might looke about, hee shewed him those that were gotten to the top of the crag, and scorning then his pride, asked of him whether Alexanders souldiers had gotten

The seuenth booke

wings or no. By that time the trumpets were blowne in the Macedons camp, & they might heare the alarme that was made in the army: which matter as many vain & trifling things are wont in the wars to grow to great effect: so y was the cause why they yeldded theselues, for fear so troubled the, that they could not consider y smal number y were ouer their heads, but called Cophes againe in great haste, who was departed away, and sent with him vnto Alexander thirtie of the chiefe men, authorized to yeld by the rocke, with composition for to depart in safegard. But Alexander not withstanding that hee doubted least his enemies discovering the fewnesse of his men, might put them to distresse: yet trusting in the felicitie of his owne fortune, and offended with the pride of Arimazes, would agree to no condition, but that they should yeld simply. Arimazes therevpon despairing more of his estate, than he had cause, descended down to the Campe with the chieffest of the Nation that were of kin to him. All the which Alexander caused to be scourged with rods, and be crucified at the fote of the rock. The multitude that yeldded, with the money that there was taken, were given in gift to the inhabitants of the new Cities. And the rule of the said rocke was committed vnto Arrabazus, with the charge of the country thereabout. The



The eight Booke of Quintus Curtius, of the acts of Alexander the great, King of Macedon.



Alexander hauing won this Rocke with greater fame than gloze, because his enemies remayned in no place certaine, it was necessary for him to separate his power, and so diuided his Armie into three parts. He gaue the charge of the one part to Ephestion, to Cenon the other, and toke the third part vnto himselfe. His enemies were not all of one opinion, for some of them seeing their defence could not auaille, yeldded themselves before the fight, to whom he gaue the Cities and the lands of those that continued still his enemies. But the outlatwes of Bactria with eight hundred horsemen wasted the Villages of Massagets. For the redresse wherof, Artinas gouernour of that country, went against them with three hundred horse.

horsemen, not knowing that his enemies lay in waite for him: which laying their embushment in a wood ioyning to a great plaine, had appointed a certaine to draw cattell, thereby to draw their enemies with the greedinesse of the pray within daunger of the embushment. When Artinas men sawe the drawers of the cattell, they pursued them without order: so that when they were passed the wood where the embushment lay, their enemies brake out vpon them (casting no such perils) and slew them euery one. The same of this overthrow came immediately to Craterus, which drew thither with the horsemen. But the Massagetes being fled before his coming, he slew a thousande of the Dahans that took their parte, whereby the rebellion of the whole Countrey ceased. Thus Alexander hauing subdued the Sogdians, returned to Maracanda, whither Berdes (whome hee had sent to the Scythians inhabiting about Bosphorus) came to him with Embassadors of that Countrey. Phrataphernes also that had the chiefe rule of the Massagetes and Dahans (which Nations were ioyned by affinities together) sent certaine messengers to Alexander, offering to be at his commaundment. The Scythia embassadors made request that Alexander would marry their kings daughter,

ter, and if the affinitie pleased him, that hee would suffer the Princes of the Macedons to enter in marriage likewise with the noble mens daughters of their countrey, promising that the King should come in person to visite him. He heard gently both the Embassages, and still continued in that place, till Ephestion and Artabalus came vnto him, and then ioyning his power againe together, came into the countrey that is called Bazaria. There is nothing more esteemed in that nation, then to haue great heards of wilde beasts enclosed in Parkes, which be very pleasant and full of springs. Those Parkes be enclosed with Walles, and Towers builded within them, to be lodges for the hunters. There was one Parke in that Countrey that had remained vnhunted during the time of foure mens ages. Whereinto Alexander entered with his whole Army, chasing the wilde beasts in euery quarter. Amongst the rest there was a Lyon of a rare highnesse that came running towards Alex. Which thing when Lisimachus (that afterwards was King, standing by chance then next to Alex.) perceiued, he stepped before him to receiue the Lyon with his hunting speare. But Alex. pulled him backe, and willed him to auoyd, saying that hee was able to kill a Lyon so well as Lysimachus.

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This Lisimachus on a time hunting in Syria, killed onely by himselfe alone an huge Lyon. But yet he was torne to the bones vnder his left shoulder, and put in great daunger of his life. Which being the matter that Alexander meant, hee performed with y word no lesse then hee promised: for he did not onely receiue the Lyon, but killed him with one stroke. Whereupon the fable did rise, how Alexander should haue cast Lisimachus to a Lyon. But though Alexanders chance was good heerein, yet the Macedons knew that by the custome of his countrey hee should not haue hunted on foote without the chiefest of his nobilitie and friends about him. Hee killed within that parke foure thousand wild beasts and there did banquet his Armie, returning afterwards to Maracanda. Arrabafus excusing himselfe there by his age, that hee was vnapt for the rule of that countrey, Alexander committed the same to Clytus, being the man that defended him with his target when he was fighting bare headed at the Riuer of Granike, and there cutte off with his sword Rhofaceris hand, that was in a readinesse to strike the King. Hee was an old souldier of Philip his father, and notable by many feats of warre that hee had done. Hellanice his sister was Alexanders nurse, whom hee loued

ued no lesse then his owne mother. For these causes he committed the strongest part of his Empire to his fidelitie. The King that purposed to set forward his iourney the next day, made the same night a sollemne banquet: wherein (being ouer-great arraduaunder of himselfe) when he was chased with drinking, began to set forth the acts that hee had done, in such sort that his words offended the eares of such as knew them to be true. The ancient men kept silence, till such time as hee began to deface the doings of Philip his father, aduaucing the notable victorie at Cheronee to be his deed: the glozie whercof he said, was taken from him by the malice and enuy of his father. For hee alledged how in the mutinie which rose betwene the Macedons and the Greeke souldiers, when Philip lay hurt of a wound which hee receined at a fray, thought himselfe sure no otherwise then to counterfeit to be dead: when he defended his body with his buckler, & slew them with his owne hand, that ranne vpon his father to haue killed him. Which act (hee said) his father would neuer gladly confesse, nor neuer could abide to acknowledge his safegard to come by his sonne. Hee also declared, how after the iourney hee made by himselfe into Illiria, in writing vnto his father, hee ascribed the victorie

rie vnto himselfe, which ouerthrew his enemies, and put them to flight when Philip was away. He said that in his opinion it deserved but small commendation to make a iourney into Samothracia, when Asia ought to haue bene spoiled and burnt. For he thought no man worthy praise indeed, but such as do so great acts, as may exceed all mens credite. The young men that were present were glad to heare these words, and such other like: but they were vngratefull to the auncients: especially for Philip his cause, vnder whom they had long serued. When Clytus which in like case was not very sober, turned to such as are beneath him, rehearsing verses of Euripides, whereof the King might rather heare the sound than the words. The effect of them was, that the Grekes did euill, which in the monuments of theyr victories, did subscribe onely the names of theyr kings, which vsurped the glozie vnto themselves that other men did winne by shedding of theyr blood. Alexander therefore which iudged his words to haue bene worse than they were, enquired of such as sat next him, what Clytus said. But when they kept silence: Clytus with a louder voyce rehearsed in order Philips doings, and the warres hee made in Greece, preferring them before

before any acts done since that time: whereupon there did rise a contention betwene the young men and the olde. But the King enforcing a patience in himselfe, when he heard Clytus deface his praise, conceived a wonderfull wrath in his minde. Yet it seemed that he would haue bridled his affection, if Clytus would haue made an end of his presumptuous talke. But when he would not cease, he gaue occasion to Alexander to bee further moued. Clytus then did proceed so farre forth, that hee durst defend Parmenio his case, and preferred the victorie that Philip hadde of the Athenians before the destruction of Thebes. And going further and further, not only through drunkenesse, but euen by a forwardnes of a contentious minde, at length said:

If we must die through thee *Clytus* is the first: for they receiue greatest rewards of thy victorie, that can most shamefully deface thy fathers memorie. The countrey of the Sogdians is giuen vnto me, that hath so often rebelled: and now is not onely vnsubdued, but such a one as by no meanes can be brought to subiection. I am placed amongst these wilde beastes that bee of such vnciuill dispositiō. But I could passe ouer things pertaining vnto himselfe: if the souldiers of
Philip

Philip were not despised : forgetting that if the olde *Atharias* had not turned againe the young men, when they gaue ouer the fight, we had yet sticke about *Alicarnazus*. How is it then that *Asia* is conquered with these young men: But I see it is true that your vn- cle said in *Italy*: he chanced vpon men, and you vpon women.

There was nothing that *Clytus* spake or did in his rashnes, that moued moze the king, than the honorable mention made of *Parmenio*: yet for all that he kept in his griefe, and did no moze but commanded him to auoid out of the place, and spake no other words, saying that he said: If thou talkest a little longer, I thinke thou wilt braide me with the sauing of his life: whereof in hery deed hee would often times proudly aduance himselfe. But notwithstanding that the King had willed him to depart, yet tarried he still, and would not rise: and therefore such as late next him, toke him by the armes to lead him away, blaming, and giuing him exhortation, for his better v- sage. When *Clytus* saw himselfe drawne forth against his will, Ire was added to his drunkennes, and declared then aloud how that he with his bzeast defended the kings backe: but now when the good turne was past, the very memorie of his benefit was hated: and there-
with

with laide to his charge the death of *Atta- lus*, and finally mocked the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whom *Alexander* claimed to be his father, and said that he told him better truth than his father did.

At those words the King was styred vnto such wrath, as he could scarcely haue borne being sober. But hauing then his senses overcome with drinke, leaped suddenly from the table. His friends were amazed, which throwing downe the cuppes for haste, rose to waite the end of the thing they sawe him goe about in such a furie. Hee toke a speare out of a Squires hand, and would haue striken *Clytus*, that was yet raging with the intemperance of his tongue: but he was stopped by *Ptholomeus* and *Perdicas*, who toke him in their armes, and stayed him for all his struiuing: And *Lisimachus* and *Leonnarus* toke away the speare. Then he called to his guard for aide, crying out that he was taken by his next friends, as *Darius* was of late, and willed the trumpet to be blowne, that the armed men might assemble vnto the Court. Then *Perdicas* and *Ptholomeus* fell downe vpon their knees, requiring him that hee would not perseuer in his wrath, which hee so suddenly had conceiued, but rather respite his displeasure, seeing y hee might
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the next day much better order the matter.
But his wrath prevailed so much, that his
eares were shut vp, and hee ranne in a furie a-
mongst the watchmen, plucking a speare out
of one of their hands, which once gotten,
he stood in the entry, through the which they
must needs passe that supped with him.

When all the rest were come forth, Clytus
came last without light. And because Alexan-
der could not discerne him, hee asked what he
was: but that was done so terribly, that the
crueltye of the act hee went about appeared in
his voyce. But Clytus, which seeing the king
in a furie, had no respect how much he had of-
fended him before, answered that hee was
Clytus, which was comming from the kings
banquet. With that word hee strake him
through the bodie, so that he fell downe stark
dead, and was all sprinkled with his blood. So
now (quoth he) to Philip, Parmenio, and to
Attalus. Herein it may be scene, that nature
prouided euill in the disposition of man, which
for the moze parte cannot consider so well
things to come, as those that bee past. For
after that Alexanders ire was asswaged,
and his drunkenesse past, weighing aduised-
ly the foulness of his act he had done, considered
then that though Clytus had vsed ouer much
libertie in his talke, that yet hee ought not to
haue

haue slaine so noble a man of warre: yea and
the sauer of his own life, though he was alha-
med to confesse it. He sawe that he being a
king, had vsed the detestable office of an exe-
cutioner in reuenging with wicked slaugh-
ter the libertie of words, which might haue
bene imputed vnto wine. When he beheld
the blood of him which a little before hee had
bidden to his banquet runne ouer all the en-
try, and that the watchmen were so astonied
and amazed, that they stood a farre off, & durst
not come neare, his solitarines caused his re-
pentance to be the greater. Then hee plucked
the speare out of the dead corps, & would haue
thrust it through his owne body, if the watch-
men had not come running, & with great stri-
uing wroong the same out of his hands. That
done, they tooke him vp, and carried him into
his lodging, whereas he fell downe flat vpon
the ground, filling all the court full of the mi-
serable noise of his howling and lamentati-
on. He tare his face with his nailes, and requi-
red such as stood about him, that they would
not suffer him to liue in such a shame & disho-
nour. In these requests he consumed the whole
night, and caused a diligent search to be made
whether it were the ire of the Goddess or no,
that had caused him to commit so hainous
an act. At length it was found that the yeare

ly sacrifice due vnto Bacchus was not done in due time: And therefore it appeared manifestly, that it should bee the wrath of the Gods that had moued him to commit murder vpon eating and drinking. But the greatest thing that increased his sorrow, was the amazement of his friends, when he saw them shrink from him, and that none of them after that deed done, would gladly vse such familiar communication as they did before. Then hee perceived that hee should liue as a wilde beast in a desert, both fearing others, and also afraid himselfe. The next morning hee commaunded the body bloudie as it was, to be brought into his chamber, which when hee sawe lying before him, fell in weeping, and said:

Shall I after this sort requite my Nurice, whose two sonnes slaine for my sake at *Miletum*, I haue now killed her brother (that was her onely ioy) at mine owne boord? What refuge shall that wretched woman haue? I was all the comfort that did remaine to her, and now she shall neuer bee glad to behold me. Shall I the wicked killer of my preseruers, returne into my countrey, when I shall not bee able to present my hand vnto my Nurice without the remembrance of her miserie?

When

When he could put no end to these kind of bewailings and complaints, the body was take away by the appointment of his friends. After that hee had layen three dayes shut vp in his Chamber, sorrowing after this maner, the Squires and such as had the keeping of his person, seeing him giue obstinately to death, brake into his lodging, and with great paine brought him (though hee long withstood their prayers) at length to take some reliefe and sustenance. And to the intent he should bee the lesse ashamed of Clytus death, the Macedons decreed that hee was lawfully killed, and would not suffer him to bee buried, but that the King commaunded it. Having consumed tenne dayes at Maracanda, specially to confirme the shame hee had conceived of Clytus death, sent Ephestion with part of his Army into Baetria to prouide victualles against winter, and committed the same Province vnto Aminras, which before hee had giuen to Clytus. From thence hee went into a Countrey called Zenippa, that confineth with the Scythians: which being well inhabited and full of villages, doth with the plentifulnes thereof, not onely deteine the inhabitants to dwell there still, but also inuiteth strangers to come amongst them. The same was a refuge to the outlawes of Baetria,

that still rebelled : but after Alexanders comming was knowne , they were drinen forth by the countrey men, and two M. and two hundred of their horsemen assembled together , which were accustomed to liue by theft and spoile in time of peace : whom not onely the Marre , but also dispaire of forgiuenes, had made more cruel, and their wild dispositions worse. They gaue an onset suddenly vpon Amintas, that was Darius Lieutenant. The battaile was long doubtfull betwixt them : but finally they lost 7. hundred of their number, whereof 300. were taken prisoners, and turned theyr backes to the victors, not without a reuenge : for they slew of them 4. scoze, besides 3. hundred and 50. that they wounded. And yet notwithstanding after this second rebellion, they obtained pardon : when Alexander had brought them to obedience, he came with his whole army into a Countrey called Naura, the Lord whereof was called Sisimithres, who had gotten two sonnes by his owne mother , it being lawfull there for the parents to vse their children. The same Sisimithres with two thousand armed men, fortified and kept the straight at the entrey of the Countrey , whereas it was most narrow. The passage was defended both with a Riuer and a rocke, through the which

rocke

rocke the way was made by force of hand. The light is receiued in at the entrie , but further inward there is none, but such as men bring with them. From this rock there goeth a watr vnderneath the ground, that hath issue into the fields , which be not knowne but to such as be of the same countrey. Though this straight was naturally strong, & defended besides by a strong power , that lettred not Alexander to attempt it, but brought engines which they call Arietes, to beate downe such fortification as was made with hands , and with slings and shot of arrowes , did beate his enemies from the places of their defence. When hee had drinen them away, hee passed through the fortifications he had wonne, and made approach to the rocke. But the streame that grewe of the assembly of waters falling from the mountaine, was an impediment to him therein. It seemed a wonderfull worke to fill the chanel of the Riuer : yet he caused trees & stones to be brought to the place, and set the thing in hand. When his enemies that neuer had seene any such worke before , sawe the worke rise suddenly like a mountain, they were put in a marvellous feare, which y king supposing they might haue bene brought to render it vp , sent one Oxiartes of the same nation to perswade Sisimithres to render the

rocke. And in the meane season to put them in moze terroꝝ, he caused towers of wood to be bzought foꝝwards, & did shoote with engins so out of the same, that the enemies foꝝlaking all other strengths, retired into the top of the rocke. Oxiartes finding Sisimithres in this feare, perswaded him rather to pꝛoue Alexanders beneuolence then his foꝛce: and saing that all creatures submitted themselves vnto him, that he onely should not be his let, going with his victozious Army into India, where by he should turne other mens plagues vpon his owne necke. Sisimithres would haue bene contented to follow his aduise, but that the which was both his mother and his wife, affirmed how she would rather die, then commit her selfe into any mans hand: and therefore beeing ashamed that the loue of libertie should remaine moze in a woman then in him being a man, altered his purpose, taking that way which was moze honest then sure, & dismissed him that was the meane foꝛ peace, determining vtterly to abide the extremitie of the siege: Yet when he had weyed well his enemies power and his owne togethers, began againe to repent him of his wiues counsaile, as of a deuise moze rash then profitable, and made sute that Oxiartes would returne, pꝛosering then to commit himselfe to the

the kings will, onely requiring of Oxiartes that he would not vtter his wiues minde and opinion, foꝛ feare least she should not obtaine her pardon. He sent therefore Oxiartes befoꝛe, and he came after with his wife, his childzen, and all his kinsfolke, without tarrying foꝛ any assurance promised to him by Oxiartes. Alexander hearing of their comming, sent his hoꝛsemen befoꝛe to cause them to stay, and tarry foꝛ his comming. And when he was come to the place where they did abide, he offered sacrifice to Minerua and Victoria, restoring vnto Sisimithres his foꝛmer rule and authozitie, putting him in hope of a greater countrey, if he would faithfully continue his friendship, and toke his two sonnes presented to him by the father, to serue his warres. Alexander left his footemen to subdue such as were yet vnyeelden, and went foꝝwards with his hoꝛsemen into other parts. The way was craggie and difficult, which at the first they endured indifferently: but afterwards when their hoꝛse houses were toꝛne asunder, and they vtterly foꝛwearied, many were not able to follow, but rode disparkled and out of order: the wearinesse of their trauell so much ouercame shame. The king notwithstanding, changed often hoꝛse, and pursued without ceasing his

enemies that fled before him : by reason whereof all the noble young men that were wont to accompany him, were left behinde, sauing onely Philip Lisimachus brother, who then being in the flower of his youth, and of great likelyhood to become an excellent man, followed on foote the king that did ride on horsebacke by the space of fiftie furlongs: Lisimachus diuers times for all that protested to him his horse . But in no wise hee would depart from the king , notwithstanding that hee had on his Cozselet and all his Armour. When the king passed through a Wood where his enemies lay in ambushment, he fought notably and rescued the king fighting with his enemies. But after they were put to flight and driven out of the woods, the greatnesse of his courage, which had sustained him in the heate of the fight, fainted with his body, & being all on a sweat, leaned himselfe to a Tree , which did not so stay him but that hee fell to the earth, and being taken vp againe by the kings handes, thronke downe from him and died. The king being sorrowfull for his death , receiued another tydings, no lesse to bee lamented. For before hee came to his Campe , hee was aduertised of the death of Erigius , one of his notable Captaines : whose Funerals were

were both celebrated with great pompe and ceremonies of honour.

From thence hee determined to goe vnto the Dahans, where hee vnderstood that Spiramenes was . But Fortune that neuer ceased to fauour him , finished that iourney of his , as shee did many other . Spiramenes was enflamed with the ouer-much loue of his wife, whom he carried with him in all his hazards and aduentures. But she that could not well endure flying , nor to change places like an outlaw , became so wearie of trauell, that by flattery and faire meanes she entised her husband to leaue his flying , and go about (seeing he sawe no waies to escape) to procure Alexanders fauour : of whose clemencie (shee said) he had seene so great experience. And to moue him the more in the matter , shee brought before him the children begotten betwixt them, making request that at the least wayes he would take pittie vpon them, wherein she thought her prayer would be the more effectuell, because Alexander was so near at hand. But Spiramenes iudging her not to do this by way of counsell , but of purpose to betray him , and that shee desired to submit her selfe to Alexander in confidence of her beautie, drew out his sword to haue stricken her, if hee had not bene letted by his brethren

then. When they would not suffer him otherwise to hurt her, he commanded her to adoe his sight, threatening to kill her if she profered to come againe into his presence: And to mitigate his loue towards her, he spent the night amongst his Concubines. But his loue that was so deeply grounded, thereby ceased not, but rather kindled the more toward his wife. Wherefore he reconciled himselfe againe vnto her, making his continuall request, that shee would not counsaile nor moue him any more in the matter, but be content with such chaunces as Fortune would sende him: for he esteemed death lighter than to yeelde himselfe. She purged her selfe of her former perwasion, which appeared to her (shee saide) to haue bin good, and though it were after a womans manner, yet it proceeded of a faythfull meaning. Yet from thenceforth shee was contented to do as it should please him. Spitamenes overcome with her counterfeit affection, made a great feast, and after much eating and drinking, became drowsie, and was carryed into his Chamber. When his wife perceiued him to bee in a deepe sleepe, shee pulled out a sword, which shee had kept secretly for that purpose, and cut off his head, deliuering the same beeing sprinkled with blood, vnto her seruant that was priue to the

fact, and with him onely, as she was imbued with blood, came vnto the Macedons campe, willing it to be signified to Alexander, that there was one come, that had to speake with him. Hee by and by gaue commaundement shee should enter: but when he perceiued her defiled with blood (thinking that shee had come to lament some iniury done vnto her) willed her to declare what shee would haue. Shee desired that her seruant might come in, from vnderneath whose garment shee tooke Spitamenes head, and presented it vnto Alexander. The palenesse of the face wanting blood, had taken away the knowledge whose it was. But when the King perceiued it to be a mans head, he departed forth of the Tent, and by enquiry vnderstood the matter. The case brought him in great perplexitie, and was diuened by diuers imaginations into sundry opinions. He iudged the killing of such one (being a fugitiue & a rebell) to be a great benefite vnto him: which living, might haue bene a great let and impediment to his proceedings. But on the other side, considering the horribleness of the deed, that shee should kill him by treason, which loued her so entierly, and by whom shee had had children: the violence of the act ouercame the thanks of her benefite, and shee was commaunded to depart the

the Campe, least the ensample of such licentiousnesse, might corrupt the manners and civil dispositions of the Greekes. When the Dahans understood of Spitamenes death, they brought Dataphernes bound, that was partner with him in his conspiracie, & yielded themselves vnto Alexander. He being delivered frō the greatest part of his present care, determined to reuenge his iniuries of the which had bene misdoen by the pride and conetousnesse of his deputies and officers. Therefore he committed Hircania with the Cardons and Taurians to Prataphernes, to whom he gave in commission to send Phradates his predecessor to him as a prisoner. Tansonor was substituted ruler of Caria in the place of Arsamus. Arfaces was sent into Media, to the intent that Oxidates should remove from thence. Babilon vpon the death of Mazeus, was committed to Deditamenes. When he had ordained these things, the third moneth he drew his Army out of the winter lodgings, to goe to a countrey that was called Gabaza. The first daies iourney was quiet, and the next not very tempestuous: yet darker than he had bin accustomed, but not without some signification of their calamities that were coming. The third day the element was full of lightning: and when the lightning

ceased,

ceased, it was very darke. The beholding thereof amazed the souldiers, and put them in great feare. It thundred in maner continually, and the lightning fell in strange similitudes, so that the Army stood astonied, and durst neither goe forwards, nor remaine still in a place. When there came suddenly a shower of haile driving like a streame: which at the first they defended by couerture of their harness. But shortly after their hands were so colde and wet, that they could not hold their weapons, nor yet devise which way to turne themselves, finding alwaies where they turned their faces, more violence of the tempest then before. Euerie man therefore brake his aray, wandring about the woods, and many that were wearied by feare rather then by travel, lay downe vpon the ground, notwithstanding that the force of the colde had converted the shower into a frost. The tree against which they leaned, was a great refuge and helpe to many. And yet they were not ignorant when they rested, that they chose themselves a place of death: when they left to move their bodies, the naturall heate left them: But ease was so pleasant to such as were wearied, that they refused not to die in resting of themselves. Their affliction was not onely vehement for the time, but also continued

finued very long: to the encrease wherof, the light, which is a naturall declaration vnto men, through the darkenesse of the shower, and the shadow of the wood, was so taken away, that it appeared as it had bene night. The king onely was able to endure this mischiefe, which ceased not to goe about the Army, drawing the souldiers together when they were disparkled, lifting them vp that lay on the ground: and to encourage them, he shewed them the smoake that rose a far off from the Cottages, whither he exhorted them to drawe for succour. There was not any thing more effectuell to their safegard, then that whiles they were ashamed to leaue their Prince, whom they saw endure this mischief, they chased themselves with their labour and trauell. But necessitie (which in aduerser fortune is of more force then any reason) found out a remedie for this colde. They fell to cutting downe the wood, making euery where heaps and stacks therof, and set them on fire. When a man would haue iudged y^e the whole wood had bin on a flame, for there was scarcely space left betwixt the fires for men to stand. When their nummed ioyntes began to be moued with the heat, and their spirits which were oppressed by force of the cold, began to haue their free recourse: Some recovered the

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cottages, which necessitie caused them to seeke out in the furthestmost part of the wood, & the rest recovered y^e camp, which was planted in a moist ground. But by that time the shower was ceased, the tempest hadde consumed a thousand souldiers, barlets and slaues. It is said that diuers were found frozen to death, leaning against Trees, and yet seemed as though they had bene liuing and speaking together. It chaunced that a common souldier of the Macedons, which had much paine to go and carrie his Armour, came at the last into the Campe where the king was: who notwithstanding that he was chafing of his owne body against the fire, yet he did rise out of his chaire, and pulling off the nummed souldiers armour, that was almost past his remembrance, set him downe therein. He a great while knew not where he sat, or who had received him: but at length when his naturall heate came to him, and perceiued it to be his kings seate, and the king to be there present, was afraid, and start vp again. But Alexander beheld him in the face, and said.

Perceiuest thou not now my souldier, with how much better condition thou liuest, then the Persians do vnder their king? For it is death for the to sit in the kings seate, and the same hath bene the safegard of thy life.

The

The next day he called his friends, and the Captaines of the Army together, promising to restore to them whatsoever they had lost: wherein he performed his promise: For Sismithres bringing unto him many beasts of burden with 2000. Camels, & a great number of sheepe and oxen, he distributed all amongst the souldiers: wherein he both restored to them their losse, and also deliuered them from theyr hunger. The king gaue great thanks unto Sismithres, and commaunding his souldiers to carrie sixe dayes victuals readie dressed, went to the Sacans, where he destroyed all their Countrey, and of the bootie there taken, gaue 30. thousand sheepe in gift to Sismithres. From thence he came vnto a countrey belonging vnto a noble prince called Cohortanus, who submitted himselfe vnto the king, and he againe restored his Countrey to him, eracing nothing of his, but that of his three sonnes hee should send two with him to serue his wars. But Cohortanus offered to him all three, and made a feast vnto Alexander, with all such sumptuousnes as belonged to the manner of the countrey. Therein all the pleasures beeing shewed that could be deuised, thirtie Virgins of the noble mens children were brought in befoze Alexander, amongst whom there was Cohortanus daughter, called

Roxane,

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Roxane, which in beautie and excellencie of personage, and in comelinesse of apparell (rare amongst those nations) excelled all the rest. And notwithstanding that they were all eled, with whom shee was accompanied, yet she drew all mens eyes towards her, and specially the kings, that could not well now gouerne his affections in such prosperitie of fortune, being the thing that the frailnesse of man sildome can auoyd. Thus he which beheld the wife of Darius and her two daughters (to whom Roxane was nothing comparable) with no other intent then he might haue done his mother, was then so farre overcome with the loue of a young virgin, being but of a base stocke, if shee should bee compared to kings bloud, that hee affirmed it to be a thing necessarie for the establishment of the Empire, for the Persians and Macedons to marry together: by which onely meanes shame might be taken from the vanquished, and pride from the victors. Hee also for his purpose alledged a president how Achilles (of who hee was descended) toynd himselfe with a captiue. And least his dowings should bee thought iniurie, he would couple himselfe by the way of marriage. The father ioyfull of these newes that he looked not for, gladly confirmed the kings words: who in the heate of

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his desire, caused bread to be brought forth according to the custome of his countrey, the same being the most religious ceremonie of marriage among the Macedons: which bread was cut asunder with a sword, & each of them made of it a sacrifice. It is to be thought, that such as established the customes of that nation, conected by a moderate and scarce dyet, to shewe to the that were the gatherers of great riches, with how small a thing they ought to content themselves. Thus he that was both King of Asia and Europe, ioyned himselfe in marriage with a maid brought in at a maske, to beget upon a captiue, one y^e should raigne ouer the victorious Macedons. His friends were ashamed that he should chuse vpoⁿ drink a father in law of them that he had lately subdued. But after the death of Clytus, all the libertie and franknesse of speech being taken away, they seemed to agree with their countenances, as with the most apt instrument to declare the consent of the minde. After this was done, he prepared his iourney towards India, purposing to visit the Ocean sea. And because he would leaue nothing behind his backe that might be impediment to his expedition, he tooke order for 30000. young men to be leui^{ed} out of all the prouinces, & to be brought to him armed, minding to vse them both as ple^{ges}

ges and as souldiers. He sent Craterus to pursue Haustanes and Catenes: of whom the one was taken, and the other slaine. Polipercon also subdued the Countrey that was called Bubacen. And so hauing set all things in order, he set his whole imagination vpon the warre of India, which was counted to be a verie rich Countrey, and to abound both with gold, pearles and precious stones, things more appertaining to voluptuousnes, than to magnificence: and it was said that the souldiers there had their targets made of Iuory, and of Gold. And therefore least he which thought himselfe to excell the rest, should be passed in any point, caused his souldiers to garnish their targets with plates of siluer: the horsemen to make their bridles to be beautified with golde and siluer. There were a hundred and twentie thousand armed men that followed Alexander in the war. When all things were in readinesse for the purpose hee long before conceived in his euill disposed minde, he thought it time to compasse how he might vsurpe the name and honour of God, and so willed himselfe not onely to be called, but also beleued to be the sonne of Iupiter, as though his power hadde bene as well to restraine mens thoughts as their tongues. His intent was, that the Macedons should fall groueling vpon

on the ground, and worshipping him after the like maner the Persians: did their kings. And to such his desire, there wanted not of pernicious flatterie, the perpetuall payson of Princes, whose estate hath had more often overthrowes by flattery, then by any force of enemies. The Macedons were not in blame of this: for none of them suffered gladly their Countrey customes to be subuerted. But it was the fault of the Grekes, which with their naughtie conditions, corrupted the profession of honest sciences. There was one Hagis of Argiue, as euill a Poet as was since Cherillus daies, and an other called Cleo, a Sicilian, giuen to flattery both of nature, and by the custome of his countrey. They with other the brydge and refuge of their Countreies (whom Alexander reputed more then any of his Captaines and kinsmen) would haue made it appeare to the world, that heauen had laide open for Alexander, and sticke not openly to pronounce, that both Hercules and Bacchus, Castor and Pollux should al giue place to his new Godhead. For the brynging of these things to passe, the King commaunded vpon a solemne day a feast to be prepared with great pompe, inuiting thitherunto all the great Lords and Gentlemen both of the Macedons and the Grekes: with whom when he had sit

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ten and eaten a while, he departed from thence out of the feast. When Cleo, as was before determined, set forth his talk with great praise and wonder of the Kings vertues, rehearsing his exceeding benefites towards them all: which to requite, he said there was but one way, & that was, if they would acknowledge him a God, whom they knew to be one. For it is a small thing (quoth he) to recompence such great benefites towards you, with the cost of a little frankinsence. He shewed the Persians custome to be both religious and wise, in worshipping their Kings as Gods: thinking their defence and safeguard to consist in the Maiestie of their Prince. He said, that Hercules and Bacchus were deified, when they had once overcome the enuye of such as liued in their time. And men that come after doe easily beleue such things as haue bene confirmed by their predecessors. If any of you (quoth he) will sticke at this matter, ye shall see me first that at the Kings coming in shall fall downe groueling vpon the earth, and worship him. Which president others ought to follow, and specially men of most wisdome, that should alwayes be example to others in doing their duties towards their Prince. His tale tended directly against Calistines, whose grauitie and

prompt libertie of speaking was hatefull vnto the King: for he thought him the man which onely had staied the Macedons, y^el^e would readily haue done to him that honour. Where vpon euery mans eyes were turned towards Calistenes, which after silence made, said in this wise.

If the King were present (*Cleo*) to heare these thy words, it should not be mindfull now to answere thee: for he himselfe would make request that he might not thus swarue out of this kinde into the custome of strangers, nor hee would not suffer that thou shouldest deface and bring in the obloquie and enuie of men, with such thy pernicious flattery, his noble acts brought to passe with such felicitie and good fortune. But because he is away, I for him will thus answere thee. There is no fruite soone ripe that will continue long. Thus I meane by the diuine honors: which, whiles thou goest about to give vnto the K. thou takest his honor from him. There is a time required that mē should beleue him to be a God: for that gift hath alwaies bene giuen to great men, when they are once dead, by such as came after them: I wish vnto the King immortalitie after his death, and that his life may be long, and his estate continuall. But sanctifying is a thing
that

that sometime doth follow a man, but it neuer doth accompany him. Thou didst rehearse examamples of the deifying of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*. Thinkest thou that they were made gods vpon drink, & by the decree of one dinner? The nature of *Alexanders* manhood must be remooued frō our mortalities, before the same can bring him into heauen. Are not they goodly Gods (*Cleo*) that thou and I can make? Would the king trowest thou) be content to receiue of vs the authoritie of his Godhead? I haue great desire to proue thy power if thou can make a god, first make a king. It is much more easie to giue a worldly kingdome, than the possessiō of heauen. Thinkest thou (*Cleo*) that the immortal gods wil heare thee without disdain, or suffer those thy wicked deuises to take any effect? they would we should hold vs content with the customes of our forefathers: and for my part I am not ashamed of my countrey: nor I require not to learne after what manner I should honor my Prince. For in my opinion we acknowledge him sufficiently to be king and victorer, of whom wee receiue lawes to liue vnder.

Calistenes was fauourably heard of all men, as the person whom they accounted the recoverer of their vniuersall libertie. Hee did

not onely in this tale paint out such flatterers, but also lively expressed the opinion of the Macedons, specially of such as were auntient me, to whō the exchange of old vsages were grievous. The king was nothing ignozant of the words y had passed betwixt them: for he stood behind a partition of the hall, and heard all the matter. He sent word therefoze to Hagus and Cleo, that at his comming in, they shul moue the strangers onely to fall downe and worshipping him after their countrey custome. And after a while the king, as though he had bene about some matter of importance, returned againe into the feast: and then the Persians fell downe and worshipped him after such sort as was deuised, but Polipercon that sat aboue the king at the word, asked one in scozne that touched the ground with his chin, wherefoze he kissed no harder: with which words he moued Alexander to ire, whereof he was euer vnpatient: so that he said vnto Polipercon:

Is it thou that disdainest to honour mee? Shall I be mocked of thee alone?

He answered that it was not seemely a king should bee scozned, nor yet a subiect be despised. With which words the king plucked him from the table, and threw him downe: to whom he said, falling groueling vpon the earth.

Loe

Loe hast thou not done thy selfe, that before thou didst scorne in another man?

And therevppon he commaunded him to ward, and so brake vp the feast. Polipercon being thus punished, was afterwarde pardoned, but Calistenes whose contempt and stubboznesse the king had long grudged at, grounded his displeasure then moze deeply: vpon whome there chaunced shortly after an apt occasion to be reuenged. It was a custome (as it hath bene said befoze) amongst the noble men of Macedon to put their sons, when they were past their childhood in service to the king, as Pages to do necessary businesse about his person. Their vsage was to watch nightly by course at the chamber doze where the king lay. The Concubines were brought in by them, by an other way then where the guard watched. They likewise receiued the horses of the grooms of the stable, and brought them to the king, when he leaped on. They alwaies were about the king both in hunting and in battaile, and were brought vp in the studie of liberall Sciences. The chiefest honoz was giuen vnto them, because they might sit and eate with the king: none had power to correct them with stripes, but onely the king himselfe. This company was like a masse or store, from whence all the Captaines and Gouernours

uerrours of the Macedons did come. From
thence came their latter Kinges, whose ty-
nagie the power of the Romanes long after
did extinct. Hermolaus one of that number,
because he had striken a boze (whom the King
had thought to haue striken himselfe) was by
his commaundement beaten, and scourged
with rodde, which rebuke he tooke greivous-
ly, and complayned to Sostratus his friend,
that was one of the same company: Which
seeing the bodie tozne, wherunto hee had so
great affection, and peraduenture offended
also with the King before, for some other
cause, stirred so Hermolaus (which was pro-
uoked sufficiently already) that each gaue faith
to other to finde a way to destroy the King:
Which they executed, not with any childish
proceeding, but wisely agreed to bring Nico-
stratus, Antipater, Asclepiodorus, and Phi-
lotas, into the fellowship of their conspiracie.
And afterwards they ioined vnto them more,
Anticles, Elaptonius, and Phimanes. But
the meane how to performe this purpose seem-
ed very difficult, because it behoued al them
to watch together. And it was the vsage that
according to their courses, some watched one
night, and some another: For if any should
happen amongst them, that were not prynces to
the

the matter, the same might to bee a let to the
whole enterpryse. Therefore about changing
the course of their watch, and in other prepa-
ration for the execution of their purpose, there
passed two and thirtie dayes. At length the
night came when the whole number of the
conspirators should watch together, who re-
joyced greatly amongst themselves, that
each had kept faith to other: whereof so ma-
ny dayes silence had giuen good proufe: du-
ring which time, neither feare nor hope had
altered any of their mindes, so great was the
displeasure they had conceiued against the
King, or else the fidelitie they bare each to o-
ther. They were standing at the doore, where
the King did eate, to the intent that at his ri-
sing from the banquet, they might bring him
to his chamber. But Alexanders fortune, and
the pleasantnesse of such as were in his com-
pany, moued him to drinke largely, whereby
and by reason of other pastimes and deuises,
the time was so prolonged, that the conspira-
tors stood in a marvellous perplexitie. For
one while they were glad, because they trusted
to finde him drunke, when they should goe a-
bout their enterpryse, and an other while they
were in great agony, least he should sit til day
light, for then the custome was to releue the
watch, and other to succeed in their places, and
since

since they2 course should not be come againe till the seventh night after, they could not be assured that euery one of them would keepe the thing secret all that time. But when the day began to appeare, and Alexander was risen from the banquet, they were so glad to execute their malice, that they became ioyfull to receiue the king. There was a woman accustomed to haunt the Court, which being distraught of her mind, and seeming by some inspiration to shew things to come, met Alexander, and would in no wise suffer him passe, but perswaded him by all meanes shee could deuise, to return and sit down againe. He said to her in sport that the Gods gaue him good aduise: and thereupon called back againe his familiars, and satte drincking till it was two houres within night. By which time an other company had releued the watch, & were standing befoze the kings chamber doore: yet for all that y^e conspiratozs remained stil after the time of their watch expired: So vehement is the hope which mens mindes conceiue, when they be drownded in the desire of great things. The king spake moze gently to them than he was accustomed, and willed them to go to they2 rest, for so much as they had watched all the night befoze: and gaue vnto euery one of them in reward fiftie sesterces, with commendation

commendation of their diligence, that they continued they2 watch longer then their time. Being thus deceiued of the great hope they were in, they departed to their lodgings, in expectation of the night when they2 course should come againe. But Ephimanes, which euer by the gentlenesse the king shewed him amongst the rest, or else that hee thought the providence of God had withstood they2 purpose, suddenly changed his mind, and opened the matter they had gone about to his brother Eurilochus, that was not priuie to the matter befoze. The punishment of Philotas was so fresh in euery mans memozy, that Eurilochus laid straight wayes hands vpon his brother, and brought him into y^e court. He called to the watch, and shewed them that he broght news pertaining to the kings safegarde, which thing wel appeared, as wel by their comming at such a time, as also by their sadnesse, which was a testimonie of their troubled mindes. The watchmen called vpon Ptholomeus and Leonatus, that lay within the kings Chamber, which straightway brought them in to the king, and wakened him, that by reason of his much drincking lay in a dead sleepe. It was long ere he awoke, but by litle and litle he came to himselfe, and asked what the matter was. Then said Eurilochus, thanked be the Gods,

Gods, that haue not vtterly determined the
ruine of our family. For though my brother
purposed an hainous act, yet he is come to
repentance, by him the matter is brought to
light. This same very night treason was con-
spired against you, the authoꝛs thereof be such
as you would scarcely thinke. And thereupon
Ephimanes declared all things in order, with
the names of the conspiratoꝛs. It is certaine
that Calistenes was not named as one priue
to that treason: but it was confessed that he
gladly gaue eare to others talke, when they
blamed and spake euill of the Kinges procé-
dings. Some doe adde therevnto, that when
Hermolaus did complaine to Calistenes how
the King had beater him, he bad him remem-
ber how he was a man. But whether he spake
it to take the thing in patience, or else to stirre
him to further malice, it remaineth in doubt.
When the King was fully awaked, and cal-
led to his memoꝛie the perill he was in, gaue
Eurilochus fiftie talents, with the forsaite of
a rich mans goods called Tiridates, and for-
gaue his brother befoꝛe his pardō was requi-
red. He comāded the pꝛincipals of this trea-
son to be kept bound, & among them Caliste-
nes: who being taken & bzoght into the court,
the king slept all the day, & the night ensuing,
he was so heauie with dzinking & watching.

The next day he called a great councel, wher-
at the fathers & kinsfolkes of the conspiratoꝛs
were pꝛesēt, not very wel assured of their owne
safegard, because that by the lawe of the Pa-
cedons all ought to die that were any thing a-
kin to traytoꝛs. All the conspiratoꝛs except
Calistenes, by the Kinges commaundement
were brought forth, immediately confessing
the whole treason they had deuised. When
every man pꝛesent reuiled them, and the king
required what he had done to them, why they
should conspire his death. When all the other
stood still and held their peace, Hermolaus
answered thus.

Ye demand this thing of vs as though ye
knew not the matter. We began to kill you,
because you began to raigne ouer vs, as if we
were slaues and not free borne.

As he was speaking those words, his Fa-
ther Persepolis called him traytoꝛ and mur-
derer of his parents, stopping his mouth with
his hand, because he should speake no further.
Then the King plucked his father backe, and
willed Hermolaus to speak such things as he
had learned of his maister Calistenes. Then
Hermolaus proceeded.

I will vse your benefit, and declare those
things which I haue learned to the great
mischiefe of vs all. How small is the number
of

of the Macedons remaining, that haue escaped your crueltie? *Attalus*, *Philotas*, *Parmenio*, *Lincestes*, *Alexander*, and *Clitus*, are now dead: but to our enemies behoofe they be aliue. They stood in the fight, and defended thee with swords, receiuing woundes for your glorie and victorie, which now be very well rewarded: The one besprinkled your table with his bloud, and the other could not be suffered to die a simple death. Thus the Captaines of your people be tormented and put to death: a pleasant spectacle to the Persians, of whom they were victors. *Parmenio*, by whom ye slew your enemy *Attalus*, was put vnto death without iudgement. Thus vse ye the hands of vs wretches, as instruments one to kill another, and such as euen now were your tormentors, straightwaies you commend to be tormented of others.

At those wordes the multitude beganne to shout against *Hermolaus*, & his father drew his sword to haue slain him, if he had not bene letted by the King, which commaunded *Hermolaus* to speake, requiring the rest to heare him patiently, which (he saide) enforces the cause of his owne punishment. At length with great labour they held their peace, and then *Hermolaus* began againe:

How

How liberall is he to suffer young children to speake? when the voyce of *Calistenes* is shut vp in prison, because he alone is able to tell his tale? and why? because hee feareth the free speech of an innocent, and because he cannot endure to behold his face: & yet I will iustifie he is not priue to this matter. But other there be here that purposed with me a noble enterprise, of whom there is not any that can accuse *Calistenes* of consent, and yet our so patient and righteous a king, hath determined here his death. These be the rewards of the Macedons, whose bloud is misused as vile, & of no valour. He hath 30000. mules carrying spoile and treasure: and yet the poore souldiers carrie nothing with them but vnrewarded wounds & skars: All which things we did easily suffer before he did betray vs to the barbarous, & after a new trade of victors made vs slaves. He alloweth the apparell and discipline of the Persians, and despiseth the maners of his owne country: and therefore wee determined to kill him, not King of *Macedon*, but King of *Persia*: and as a fugitiue, persecuted him by the lawe of armes. He would haue the Macedons kneele to him and worship him as a God. He refused *Philip* for his father, and if any God had bene before *Iupiter*, he would

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haue

haue refused him likewise. Do you maruaile if free mē cannot beare this his pride? What can we hope for at his hands, seeing we must either die as innocents, or else (that is worse than death) liue and remaine in bondage as slaues. He is greatly in my debt, if by this he could amend: for he may learne of mē the thing that free hearts cannot endure. Spare them whose age shall be sufficiently tormented with the losse of their children: but vpon vs cause execution to be done, to the intent we may obtaine by our own death, the libertie we sought for by his.

When Hermolaus had spoken these words, the king then answered after this maner:

How false these things be which he hath learned of his instructor, my patience doth declare. For notwithstanding he before confessed this treason, yet my minde was yee should heare what he could say: knowing very well that when I gaue libertie to this theefe to speake, that he would vse the same rage and fury in his talke, which before moued him to haue killed me, whom he ought to haue loued as his father. Of late whē that in hunting hee vsed a great presumption, I commaunded him to be chastised after the custome of our country vsed by the kings of *Macedon*: which chastisement we must grant

needfull

needful to be done, like as the pupils be accustomed of their tutors, the wiues of theyr husbands, and seruants of their maisters. This was all the crueltie I vsed towards him, which he would haue reuenged with murder and treason. But how gentle I am to all persons, that suffer me to vse mine own disposition, since you your selfe do know, it were superfluous for me to rehearse. I cannot maruell at all, though punishment of traytors be displeasing to *Hermolaus*, since he himselfe is in the same case: for when he commendeth *Parmenio* & *Philotas*, it maketh for his owne purpose. I pardoned *Lyncestes Alexander*, which accused by two witnesses, that he twise conspired treason against me: and againe conuicted, yet deferred I his punishment two yeares, till you your selues required he might haue his deseruing. Touching *Attalus*, ye remember very well how he wrought treason against me before I was king: and for *Clitus*, I would he had not moued me to ire, whose rash tongue, speaking the rebuke and shame both of me and you, I suffered longer than he would haue done me, speaking the like. The clemency of the kings & princes consisteth not only in their own dispositiō, but in such as be vnder their subiectiō. For the rigor of such as be rulers,

is mitigated with humilitie. But whē mens mindes be voyd of reuerence, and high and lowe be confounded all alike, then force is necessarie to repulse violence. But why do I maruell that he laid crueltie to my charge, that durst obiekt towards me couetousnes? I will not call you to witnesse one by one, least I should braid you with liberalitie, by making declaration what I haue bestowed vpon you. Behold the whole multitude, which a litle while agoe had nothing else but their bare armour, do they not lye in siluer beds? be not their tables charged with plate? and possesse they not whole flockes of slaues? They are not able to sustaine the spoiles of their enemies. But it is said the Persians be honored of me, whom we haue conquered. Truly they be so; & yet what greater prooffe can there be of my moderation, then that I doo not raigne proudly ouer such as I haue subdued. I came into *Asia*, not vtterly to subuert the nations, nor make the one halfe of the world desart, but to giue the conquered cause not to repine at our victory. This is the occasiō they gladly fight for you, & for your kingdome spend their bloud: which if they were proudly vsed, would straight rebell against you. The possession is not durable which is kept by violence, but thanks of

gent

gentlenes receiued, endureth euerlastingly. If we purpose to enioy *Asia*, & not to make a progresse through it, we must make them partakers of our clemencie: and then their fidelitie shal make our Empire stable & perpetuall. And truly we haue now more then we can wel wish or desire. Couetousnes is an vn-satiabable thing, specially when men desire to fill the vessell that runneth ouer. But ye will say that I mixe & bring their customes amongst ours. It is so: and why? because I see in many natiōs right many things which we need not be ashamed to follow: and so great an Empire as we haue gotten, cannot otherwise be aptly gouerned, except we deliuer some things to them, and receiue likewise some things again. One thing is to be laught at, that I should refuse *Iupiter* for my father, being so acknowledged by his oracle: as who saith, the answer of the gods were in my power. He profered the name of his sonne vnto me, which was not a thing vnmeet for the things we purposed. I would wish that the Indians beleue me to be a God: for the successe in warre standeth much by fame, and that which is falsly beleued, sometime worketh the effect of things true. Do you note me giue to excesse & prodigalitie, because I garnished your armor with gold and siluer?

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My purpose was to shewe to men accustomed with such things, nothing to be more vile then such kinde of mettall, & to declare that y^e Macedons inuincible in other things, could not be ouercome with gold it self. After this maner I shall blinde the eyes of the barbarous, which are wont at the first sight to wonder at things, be they neuer so base and vile. And in that we shewe to make no estimation of it, we shal declare to all mē that we are not come for desire of golde nor siluer, but to subdue the whole world: from which glory thou traitor, thou wouldst haue bereaued me, & betrayed the Macedons (I being slain) to the barbarous nations. I am exhorted to spare your parents. Is it needfull I should make him priue what I haue determined of them? no I will not: and to that intent hee might die with the greater dolour, if he hath any care or memorie of them. It is long ago since I did forgoe the custome of putting the innocent parents and kinsfolke of traitors to death with the offenders. And I now professe to pardō and haue them all in the same estimation I had before. I know why thou wouldst haue thy master *Calistines* brought forth, which onely esteemed thee, being of his sort: because thou desirest to heare pronounced of his mouth, those rayling words which

which euen now thou didst spit out against me. If he had bene a Macedon borne, I had brought him into the place with thee: a worthy maister for such a disciple, but beeing borne in an other countrey, hee is subiect to an other lawe.

When he had spoken these words, he dismissed the councell, and commaunded all such as were condemned, to be deliuered to the soldiers of their owne bands: who because they would declare by some crueltie, the loue they bare towards their prince, slew them all by torments. Calistenes also died vpon the rack, innocent of the conspiracie against the Kings person, but a man not pliable to the custome of the court, & abhorring from the disposition of flatterers. There was neuer thing y^e brought the Greekes in greater indignation against Alexander, then that he not onely killed, but caused to be tormented to death, & that without iudgement, a man endued with godly manners and good sciences, by whom he was perswaded to liue, when hee purposed to haue dyed for sorrow y^e he had slaine *Clytus*: which his crueltie, repentance followed that came too late. But least he might nourish idlenesse, apt for the sowing of seditious rumours, he marched toward India, alwayes more glorious in war then after his victorie. The whole

countrey of India lyeth chiefly towards the East, containing moze in length, then it doth in breadth. The North parts be full of mountaines and hilles : but all the rest of the land is plaine, having many faire rivers, which running out of the Mount Caucasus, doe passe pleasantly thzough the Countrey. Indus is moze cold then any other rivers, whole water is not unlike the colour of the Sea. But of all the Rivers in the Orient, Ganges is most excellent : which running from the South, passeth directly thzough many great mountaines, until that by the encountering of Rocks, his course is turned toward the East, where it is receiued into the red Sea: the violence of the streame breaketh downe his bankes, swallowing in trees, and much of the ground. In many places the streame is kept in with Rocks, whereupon it beateth: But where the ground is moze soft, there the River becommeth moze large, and maketh many Ilands. The greatnesse of Ganges is much encreased by Acesines, which meete before they enter into the Sea: At their meeting the water is violently troubled, whiles the one resisteth the others entry, neither of them seeme to glue place to other. Diardnes is a River of the lesse fame, because it runneth in the uttermost bounds of India : but yet it

bringeth

bringeth forth Crocodiles, as the Nile doth, and also Dolphines, with mosters unknown to other nations. Crooked Erimanthus with his many turnings and reflexions is consumed by the inhabiteurs with watering theyr ground, which is the cause that when it draweth neare the Sea, it becommeth very little, and beareth no name. There be many other Rivers that doe divide the Countrey: but none of them be so famous as these, because they doe not run so farre. The Northwinde doth blast and harme most those parts that be next unto the Sea: but those windes be so broken with the toppes of the Mountaines, that they cannot endamage the inward parts of the countrey: wherfore fruites be very plentifull there, and perfect. But that region doth differ so much from the ordinarie course of time in other parts of the world, that when other Countries bee burned most with the Sunne, India is covered over with snowe. And when other places be frozen, the heate is there most intollerable: and yet there appeareth not any naturall cause why it should bee so. The colour of the Indian sea not differing much from the water of other Seas, did take his name of King Erichrus, whereof the ignorant tooke opinion the water of those Seas were red. The land is very about

abundant of flaxe, whereof the moze part of their garments be made. The twigs of the Trees be so tender, that they receive the print of letters like ware. The byzds by teaching, counterfeit mens voyces. There be many beastes which are not bred amongst other Nations. Rhinoceroses be there brought forth, but not bred. The Elephants of that countrey be stronger then those that be made tame in Africke, & their highnesse do answer unto their strength. The water of the Rivers do carry downe gold, and runne mildly without any great fall. The Sea doth cast vpon the shoare both pearles and precious stones: whereof proceeded the cause of their great riches, after their marchandise was once knowne to other nations, the purgings of the seas being then esteemed, as mans fantasie would make the price. The dispositions of the men (as in all other places) be according to the scituation of the countries they dwell in. They make their garments of linnen cloth which couer their bodies downe to their feet. They binde soles vnder their feete, and wrap rowles of linnen about their heads. Such as be in any degree eyther of nobilitie, or riches, haue precious stones hanging at their eares, and couer all their armes with bracelets and ornaments of gold. They vse great curiositie in

in hemming of their heads, which they round very sildome. They haue without any forme of grauitie, all parts of their face, sauing their chinne. But the excesse in voluptuousnesse (which they call magnificence) vsed by them, doth exceed the vices of all Nations. When they will is to be seene abroad, their seruants carry about them perfuming pans of siluer, and fill all the wayes where they goe with sweet sauors: they themselves be borne in litters of gold hanging full of pearles, and the garments they wear be of gold and purple enpaled together. The armed men follow their Litter, and such as be of their guard, among whom there be birdes borne vpon boughes, which they had taught alwayes to sing, when they be occupied in earnest matters. In the Kings pallace there be pillars of gold carued about with vines of gold, wherein the Images of those Birdes they delight most in, be artificially wrought. The Court is open to all comers. When the kings do kemb and dresse their heads, then they vse to giue answere to the Embassadors, and to do iustice vnto their people. When their soles be taken of, their feete be aynoynted with sweete odours. The greatest trauell they take, is when they hunt wild beastes enclosed in parks which they strike whiles they Concabins be singing

singing and dallying with them. The arrows that they shote be of two cubits long, which doe not the effect of the force they bee shotte withall, by reason of their waight which is an impediment to their swiftnesse, wherein the propertie of the arrow chiefly consisteth. In small iournies they vse to ride on horsebacks: but when they haue to trauell farther, they bee carried vpon Elephants, whose huge bodies be couered all ouer with gold. And because no vice should want amongst they: corrupt maners, great rottes of Concubines doe follow them in golden Litters. The Queenes haue their bands separte by themselves: which in all excesse of voluptuousnesse be nothing inferiour vnto the Kings. It belongeth to the women there to dresse meat, and they also serue men of wine, wherof there is grrreat plentie among the Indians. When the King hath largely drunke, and is fallen in a sleepe, his Concubines vse to carrie him into his chamber, calling vpon their Gods with a song after their Countrey maner. Who would thinke that amongst all these vices, there were any regard had of vertue: There is among them a rude and an vnciuill kinde of people, whom they call wise men, which count it the most glozious thing to prevent their owne death: and they vse to burn themselves

selues whiles they be aline. It is imputed for a great shame to such as either cannot well stir for age, or haue not their perfect health, if they prolong their life till their naturall death approach: nor there is no honour giuen to those bodies that die for age. They thinke themselves be defiled, if the bodies be not aline that be burned in them. Such as liue in cities after a ciuill manner, attaine to the most apt knowledge of the stars moving, and of the prophecing of things to come. For they cannot thinke that any man doth shorten his life, that looketh for death without feare. They esteeme those for Gods, whom they beginne once to worship, and specially trees, the bloating of the which, they forbid vnder paine of death. They count after fiftie dayes to the moneth: & notwithstanding limit their years, as they doe in other places. They note not their times by such course of the Moone, as is commonly vsed: that is from the full Moone, but from the first quarter, when shee beginneth first hoyned: & by counting after the same manner, make them the shorter. There be many other things reported of them, with the which I thought not necessary to interrupt the order of this hystorie. As Alexander entered into India, the Princes of the Countrey came vnto him, submitting themselves, & declaring that

that he was the third man that ever came among them, being begotten of Iupiter. They said y^e Hercules & Bacchus were not knowne to them, but onely by fame, but they reioyced that they might behold him present with their eyes. Alexander receiued them with all gentlenes he could deuise, and willed them to accompany him, because he would vse them as guides in his iourney. But when hee sawe that the whole number came not, hee sent Ephestion and Perdicas with part of his armie befoze, to subdue such as would not submit themselves, and willed them to goe forwards till they came to the river of Indus, and there to make boates, whereby hee might transport his army: and because they had to passe many rivers, the boates were so deuised, that they might be taken asunder to be carried in carts; and afterwards ioyned againe together. He appointed Craterus to follow him with the Phalanx, & he with such horsemen and footmen as were light armed went befoze, and being encountred on his way, fought a small battel, and did drive his enemies into the next Cittie. When Craterus was come (to the intent he might strike terrour amongst those people that had not yet proued the Macedons force) he commanded that when they won the Cittie, they should kill both man, woman, & child,
and

and burne the same to the hard ground: But whyles he rode about the walles he was stricken with an arrow. Notwithstanding the Cittie was won, & all put to the sword, the very boates not escaping the victozers crueltie. After this he subdued an obscure nation, & came to a Cittie called Nisa. It chanced that whyles they incamped in a wood befoze the cittie, there fell a cold in the night, that more afflicted the Macedons, then euer it had done befoze in any other place: against the which, they prepared the remedie that was next at hand, & cut downe the wood to make them great fires: the flame whereof caught the Sepulchres belonging to the cittie, which by reason they were made of Cedar, were soone set on fire, and neuer left burning till they were all consumed. That fire made both alarme in the Cittie, & to the camp: for thereby the citizens iudged that their enemies would make some attempt against them, and the Macedons perceiued by the barking of the dogs, & noise of men, that the Indians would sally out vpon the. Wherefoze Alexander issuing out of his Campe in order of battaile, slew such of the as attempted the fight. Wherevpon they within the cittie became of diuers opinions, some were minded to yeeld, and others thought good to aduenture the extremitie. When Alexander vnderstood
of

of their diuision, he caused his men to abstain from slaughter, and onely to maintaine the siege. At length they were so wearied with the discommodities of the war, that they yielded themselves. They affirmed their originall to come of Bacchus, who indeed builded their Citie at the foote of a mountaine called Meroe: The qualitie of which mountaine beeing reported to Alexāder by the inhabifers, he sent victuals before, and passed thither with his whole army, encamping vpon the top thereof. The mountains grew full of Vines and Iuy, abounding with springs y^e flowed out in euery place. The same was also plentifull of many kind of apples of most pleasāt tast: y^e ground also brought forth cozn without any cultivation. There grew also plentie of Lawzell Trees, with many kindes of wilde fruite. I cannot impute it to any motion of religion, but rather to plentie and wantonnesse, that caused them to repaire thither: where, of the Iuyce and the vine leaues they made themselves garlands, and ran vp and down after a desolute maner, all the hollowes and valleys thereabout rebounding with the voyce of so many thousands, calling vpon Bacchus, to whom that place was dedicate: Which licence & libertie begun of a few, was spread so soderly through out the whole Army, that the souldiers scattered

tered abroad without order, lay heere & there reposing themselves vpon the grasse & leaues that they had gathered together, as it had bin in a time of quiet & most assured peace: which licentiousnes of the souldiers rising by chance, Alexander did not withstand, but ten dayes together made feasts to Bacchus, during which time he plentifully banqueted his whole army. Who can therfore deny, but that greatness of fame & glozy, is oftentimes a benefite rather of fortune then of vertue: for their enemies had no heart to set vpon the, whiles they were drowned in this excessse of banqueting, drunkenship, & drowsinesse, but were as much afraid of theyr drunkennesse, as if they had heard their crye encountering with them in battaile: which felicity preserving them here, did afterwards defend them after the same maner in the midst of their enemies, returning as it were in triumph from the Ocean Sea, when they were giuen all to feasting and to drunkennesse. When Alexander descended from the mountaine, he went to a countrey called Dedala, which the inhabifers forsooke and fled to the woods and the wilde mountaines, and therfore he passed frō thence into Acadera, which he found both burned, and abandoned likewise of y^e inhabifers, where by of necessitie hee was compelled to vse the

war after an other maner. For he deuided his Army into diuers parts, & shewed his power in many places at once. By which meanes he oppressed them befoze they could prouide, and subdued them to their vtter ruine. Ptholomeus took most cities, but Alexander won the greatest, and afterwards ioyned againe his army together, which he had thus deuided. That done, he went forwarde & passed a riuer called Choaspe, where hee left Cenon to besiege a rich Citie called Bezira, & he himselfe went to Mazage, where Aastacanus being dead, had left the dominion both of the Countrie and the Citie, to his mother Cleophes. There were 300000. footemen to defend that Citie, which both was well fortified and strong of situation, being enclosed vpon the East with a swift Riuer, hauing steepe banks defending the citie, that it could not be approached on that side. Vpon the South and the west parts, nature (as it were for y^e nonce) had planted high rockes lying betwixt them, and deepe hollowes & pits made of old antiquitie: whereas the rockes ceased, there began a dike of wonderfull depth and widenesse. The wall wherewith the citie was enclosed, was 35. furlongs in compasse, whereof the neather parts were builded of stone, and y^e upper parts of clay: yet stones were mixed with

the clay, to the intent that the fraile substance clinging to the harder, the one should binde the other: & least the earth washed vpon with the raine, might fall all together, there were stanchings of timber put betwixt to stay the whole work: which couered ouer with boards, was a way for men to goe vpon. Alexander beholding this kind of fortification, was vncertaine what to doe. For he saw he could not approach to the walles, but by filling of those dikes & hollow places: and that hee could not otherwise fill them, then by making of a mount, which was the onely way he had to bring his engins to the wals. But whiles hee was viewing the Towne after that manner, he was stricken from the wall with an arrow in the thigh. Which he pulled out, and without wrapping of his wound, called for his horse, and letted not for his hurt to giue order for such things as he thought expedient. But at length when by hanging of his leg, y^e blood welled from the wound and waxed cold, wherby his hurt began to paine him, hee then said, that he was called the sonne of Iupiter, but yet he felt in himselfe the passions of a diseased body. Notwithstanding hee would not returne into the campe, befoze he had viewed all things that were necessarie, and appointed all things he would haue done. After that

the souldiers hadde receiued theyr appoint-
ment, by plucking downe of houses without
the towne, they got great plentie of stuffe to
make the mount withall. And by casting
stocks of trees on heapes into the dikes and
hollo w places, the mount within nine dayes
was raised vp to the toppe of the walles, and
the towers were planted vpon the same: such
was the labour and diligence the souldiers
vsed in y^e matter. The king befoze his wound
was closed vp, went to see how the woikes
went forwarde: and when he perceiued them
in such case, commended the souldiers for
their diligence, and caused things to be
brought to the walles, out of the which they
that defended the Walles were soze afflicted
with shot. And by reason they had not seene
any such kind of woike befoze, were wonder-
fully amazed: specially when they beheld the
Towers of such bignesse come forwarde, and
yet could not perceiue by what meanes they
were moued, iudged those things to be done
by the power of the Gods. And besides, they
could not thinke it a matter of mans inuen-
tion, that so great darts and speares as came
among them, should be shot by engins: dis-
pairing therefore of the defence of their Citie,
they retired into the Castle, and because they
could not be satisfied any manner of way till
they

they had yeelded themselves, they sent Em-
bassadoers to the king to aske pardon: which
thing obtained at his hand, the Queene with
a great traine of noble women came forth,
bearing in their hands cups of gold, full of
wine: who presenting her little sonne befoze
the kings feet, not onely obtained pardon, but
also restozement of her former dignitie.
Wherefoze some thought that her beautie
procured her moze fauour, then his mercie:
But this is certaine, that the childe which af-
terwards she brought forth (whosoever did
begat it) was called Alexander. From this
place Polipercon was sent with a power to
a Citie called Nora, where he ouerthrew in
battaile the inhabiteurs that encountred with
him, wherby he got the Citie into his posses-
sion. There were many other Cities obscure of
fame, that came into Alexanders hands, by
the abandoning of the inhabiteurs, which as-
sembled themselves together in armour, and
kept a rocke called Dorinis. The same was
that Hercules had besieged the same befoze
time in vaine, and by reason of an earthquake
enforced to depart. When Alexander view-
ed this rocke, and saw how steepe it was and
impassable, he became boyd of counsel, til such
time as an old man that knew well the place,
came to him with his two sonnes, offering for

a reward to guide his men by a way vp to the top. Alexander promised them foure score talents, and keeping one of his sons as a plege, sent him to performe that hee had promised. Mullinus the Kings Secretary was appointed with certaine souldiers light armed, to follow the guide, whose purpose was to deceiue the Indians, by fetching a compasse about the Rocke. But the same Rocke was not as the more part be, which lying asloape, hath waies vp vnto the top by degrees. For it stood bolte vp right after the fashion of a but, broad beneath, and euer as it grew vpward, lesse and lesse, till it became sharpe in the toppe: and it was enclosed on the one side with the riuer of Indus, hauing high and steepe banks, and vp on the other side with deepe dikes and hollow places, full of water and mud. Wherefore there could be deuised no way to win it, except those dikes were first filled. There was a weed at hand, which the King commaunded to be cut downe, and causing the boughs to be shread off for the carriage, filled the hollowes with the bare stocks. Alexander bare the first tree, and all the souldiers followed after with a couragious shout: for there was no man that would refuse to do that they saw the King begin: so that within seven daies the dikes & hollow places were filled vp. When the king ap-
pointed

pointed the Agrians and the archers to go to the assault, & did chuse 30. young men of such as he iudged most apt for the purpose, out of his owne band, appointing Charus and one Alexander to be their conductors, and exhorted Alexander that the remembrance of his name might make him hardie. At the first because the hazard was so manifest, the King was not determined to aduenture his owne person, but when the Trumpet blew to the assault, hee was of such a readie courage, that hee could not abstaine, but making a signe to his guard that they should follow him, was the first that set foote vpon the rocke. When there were fewe contented to tarry behinde, but many left their array whereas they stood in order of battaile, and followed the King. The chaunce of many was miserable, whom the running riuer swallowed in, when they fell downe from the rocke: which sight was sorrowfull to such as were out of daunger, being admonished by the perill of others, what they ought to feare themselves: herevpon their compassion being turned into feare, lamented as well themselves, as those whom they sawe die before their faces. At length they went so farre forth, that without getting off the rocke they could not retire backe againe without their great destruction. For their e-

enemies rolled down great stones vpon them,
 wherewith they were easily beaten down, by
 reason the rocke had so slippery and vnstable
 standing. Yet for all that Charus and Alex-
 ander, which were appointed to the leading
 of the thirtie chosen souldiers, had gotten to
 the top, and began to fight hand to hand. But
 there was so many darts cast at them from a
 far, that they receiued more wounds then they
 could giue: wherfore Alexander both mind-
 full of his name, and of his promise, whiles he
 fought more eagerly then warily, was inclo-
 sed about & slaine. Whom when Charus sawe
 dead, he ran vpon his enemies, and bnmindfull
 of all things, sauing or reuenge, he slew ma-
 ny with his pike, and diuers with his sword.
 But being laid at by so many at once, he fell
 downe dead vpon the body of his friend. The
 death of these two so hardie young men, and
 of the rest, moued Alexander greatly, yet
 perceiuing no remedie in the matter, caused
 the retrait to be sounded. It was greatly for
 their safegard, that they retired by little and
 litle without appearance of any feare. And the
 Indians contented to haue repulsed their ene-
 mies, pursued not after them. Alexander
 here vpon was determined to leaue off his pur-
 pose, seeing he saw no hope how to winne the
 rocke: yet he made a countenance as though
 he

he ment to continue the siege still. For both
 he caused the waies to be closed vp, and made
 an approach with towers of wood, alwayes
 putting fresh men in place of them that were
 wearied. Whye the Indians perceiued Alex-
 anders obstinacie, two dayes and two nights
 they banqueted continually, and played vpon
 himsels after their manner, to cause their ene-
 mies thinke that they had no doubt in y^e siege,
 but trusted surely to preuaile. The third night
 the noyse of the Timbrels ceased, and many
 torches were seen burning, y^e the Indians had
 lighted to see which way they might escape
 downe the rocke in the darke night. Alexan-
 der sent Balacrus to discover the matter, who
 found that the Indians were fled, & that the
 rocke was abandoned. Then a signe was gi-
 uen that the whole Army should giue a shout
 together, whereby they did strike such feare a-
 mongst their enemies flying without order,
 that many of them thinking their enemies at
 their backes, leaped downe the rockes, & slew
 themselves, whereof some maymed in theyr
 falling were left behind their fellows that fled
 away. Thus the King being victor of the
 place, rather than of y^e men, testified notwith-
 standing, with solenne sacrifice to the Gods,
 a greatnes of victory, and set vp Altars on the
 rocke to Minerua and Victoria. And though
 the

the guides y^e hee appointed to his light armed men, performed not so much as they promised, yet they^e reward was truly given them. And the rule of y^e rock with the country there about was committed to Sisocostus, he himself going forwards with his army frō thence to Echolima. But vnderstanding that certain straights thzough the which he should passe, were kept by one Erix, with twentie thousand armed men: He committed that part of his army that were heauie laden to Cenon, to be brought on by soft iournies, and going before in person with the slingers and Arcers, put his enemies to flight, making the way cleare for his army to passe that followed after. The Indians, whether it were for the hatred they beare vnto their captaine, or else for to get the fauour of the victozer, killed Erix as he fled away, and brought his head and his armour vnto Alexander. He considering the foulenes of the act, would not honoz the doers for the sample sake, nor punish the because they serued his purpose. From thence by 16. remouings, he came to that part of the Riuer of Indus, where Ephestion had prepared all things in such sort as he had commission. One Omphis was king of that Country, which before had perswaded his father to submit himselfe vnto Alexander. Who immediatly

upon

upon his fathers death, sent Embassadors vnto him to know his pleasure, whether hee should take vpon him as a king before his comming, or else line priuately in the meane season: and although it was permitted him to gouern as a king, yet he would not vse the authoritie that was granted him. He had caused Ephestion to be receined in the best sort he could deuise, but notwithstanding had not visited him, because hee would not commit his person to any mans fidelity but to y^e kings. When hee vnderstood of Alexanders comming, he went towards him with his whole power: Whose Elephants by small distances mixed in battaile amongst his footemen, shewed a farre off like Castles: At the first Alexander did not take him as a friend, but as an enemy, and therfore set his men in order of battaile, and his horsemen in wings in readiness for to fight. When Omphis vnderstood the error of the Macedons, he commanded his men to stay, and putting his spurs to his horse, rode forwards alone. Alexander did the like, putting no doubt whether he were a friend or an enemy, but thought himselfe sure, either thzough his owne manhood, or the others fidelitie. They meeting, as it appeared by their countenāces, was very friendly: but for want of an Interpreter, they could not

not

not speake together. Therefore after they had called one vnto them, the Indian king declared vnto Alexander, that the cause he met him with an army, was to put immediately his whole power into his hands, and had not hee (he said) tarried to intreat for any assurance by messengers, but vpon trust only had committed both his person and his kingdome to him, whom hee knew to make warre for the winning of glory and fame, and therefore could not feare in him any perfidie. Alexander reioyced to see his simplicitie, and pressed him his right hand as a pledge of his promise, and restored vnto him againe his kingdome. He presented vnto Alexander fiftie and sixe Elephants, with many other beasts of exceeding greatnesse, and three thousand buls, which is a cattell of great value in those countries, and much esteemed of kings. Alexander enquired of him whether he had vnder his dominion more souldiers, or tillers of the ground. He answered that he was driuen of necessitie to haue more souldiers, because hee was at warre with two kings, whose kingdoms lay beyond the river of Hydaspes. Their names were Abisares and Porus: but the authoritie remained in Porus, and said that he was prepared and resolved to adventure the hazard of the battell with such of them, as

should

should invade him first. Whereupon Alexander granted vnto Omphis, both to take vpon him the Diademe, and the name of his father that was called Taxiles: the custome of the countrey being such, that the name euer followed the kingdome whosoever enjoyed it. When he had receiued Alexander honourably in hospitalitie three dayes, the fourth day declared how much corne hee had deliuered to Ephesion, and to his Army, presenting to the king & to all his friends crownes of gold, and besides of coined silver foure score talents. Alexander reioyced so much in his good will, that he both returned againe to him his gifts, and gaue him besides a thousand talents of the spoyle hee brought with him, with much plate of gold and silver, many garments after the Persian maner, and thirtie of his own horses, with the same furniments they wore when he did ride vpon them. Which liberalitie as it bound Omphis, so it greatly offended the mindes of the Macedons. For Meleager at supper, when he had well drunke, said he was very glad that Alexander had yet found one in India, whom hee iudged worthy to receiue the gift of a thousand talents. The king bearing in minde, how much hee had repented the sleying of Clytus for the rashnesse of his tongue, refrained his anger, but yet told him

him that enuious men were euer tormentors to themselves. The next day the Embassadors of King Abisares came vnto Alexander, who according to theyr commission offered all things vnto his will : Whereupon promise and assurance being confirmed, they returned againe to their maister. Alexander therefore thinking that through the greatnes of his name, Porus might be brought to do the like, sent Cleochares to him to demaund tribute, and to summon him to come & make his homage, when he should enter the bounds of his kingdome. Porus made answere that of those two requests he would performe one, which was to meete him at the entry of his kingdome, but that should be in armes & with a power. Alexander therfore being determined to passe the river of Hydaspis, Barzantes that had bene authoꝝ of the rebellion among the Arachosians, was taken & brought to him bound, with thirtie Elephants : an apt assistance against the Indians, that were wont to put more trust in those beastes, than in the force of theyr owne nation. Gamaxus King of a small portion of India, which had confederated with Barzantes, was brought likewise bound to him. Wherefore committing them both to prison, and the elephants to Omphis, came vnto the river of Hydaspis. But Porus

lay

lay in campe on the further side to let his passage, hauing fourescore and five Elephants of huge strength of body, three hundred wagons of warre, and thirtie thousand footemen, amongst whome there were many Archers, whose shafts (as hath bene said before) were more heauie than they could welde. Porus himselfe did ride vpon an Elephant greater than all the rest, who also being of a bigge stature, appeared notable in his armour that was garnished with golde and siluer, hauing also a courage equal to the strength of his bodie, and so great a wisdom as was possible to be found amongst such rude nations. The Macedons were not so much afraid with the sight of theyr enemies, as they were with the greatnesse of the Riuer that they had to passe, which being foure furlongs in breadth, and so deepe that no fode could be found, appeared to them like a great Sea. And yet the largenesse therof mittigated nothing the violence of the streame, but ranne with no lesse fury, than if it had bene narrow, appearing by the repercussion of the water in many places, to bee full of great stones in the bottome. This Riuer being sufficient to feare them of it selfe : the sight of the futher banke full of horse and men, was an increase of theyr terror : Where the Elephants that had bodies of

of

of an vnreasonable greatnesse stood in theyr sight, being prouoked to bray of purpose, to the intent that with their terrible noyse they should fill their enemies eares full of feare. Though the Macedons were couragious and their hearts full of good hope, as they which oftentimes had had experience of their owne acts: yet their enemies, & the river both together, made them wonderfully amazed: for they could not thinke how to keep a steadfast course to the further shoze in so weake and tottering boats, nor whe they were there, could see how to arriue with suretie. There were many Ilands in the midst of the river, into the which both the Indians and the Macedons did swim, holding their weapons aboue their heads: there they skirmished together in the sight of both kings, which by experience of such small things, made triall of the successe of the whole. But amongst all the Macedons, there were two noble young men, called Sifimachus and Nicanor, excellling in boldnes and in desperat attempts, which through their continuall good fortune, had gotten a courage to despise all perill. Other young men of the most hardiest, tooke them from their Captaines, & without any other armour (sauing their pikes) swam ouer into an Iland, being full of their enemies, where through boldnesse onely they slew many

of them, and so might haue returned with gloze, if rashnes (where it findeth prosperous successe) could euer be content with measure. But whiles with scozne and pride they taried for their enemies, they were sodainly enclosed of such as swam ouer the river, and were killed with darts, which they cast at them from a farre. Such as in this case escaped their enemies, were either drowned with violence of the water, or the eddies of the streame. This sight put Porus in great courage, that sawe all their doings from the further shoare: And though Alexander was long vncertain what way to take, yet at length hee deceiued his ennemy by this policie. There was an Iland in the river greater than the rest, and apt to hide his deuise, by reason it was full of wood, and had a great rampier cast vpon that banke, was towards his enemies. There both his footemen and hozsemen might stand coueted from the sight of the Indians: and the rather to turne their eyes another way from the spying out of that oportunitie, he caused Ptholomeus with a great number of his hozsemen to shew themselves against their enemies farre off from the Iland, and to put the Indians in feare of theyr crye, making euer a shewe as though they would swimme ouer the River: which thing Ptholomeus did many dayes

continually together, to the intent that Porus should be enforced to remove his power to that part to withstand him, and thereby brought the out of the sight of the Island. Alexander also caused his owne Pavilion to be set upon the rivers side over against his enemies, and all the pompe that pertained to the state of a king to be set forth within their view, with the same band standing in sight, which was wont to remaine about his person. Furthermore Attalus, that was equal with Alexander in yeares, and like to him of face and personage, stood there openly apparelled like a king, that it might appeare to Porus, that Alexander was still remaining there, and went not about to passe the river. The execution of this devise was first letted by a Tempest, whereby afterwarde it was furthered, and brought to good effect: fortune ever vsing to turne her discommodities, into good successe towarde him. For when the enemies were thus attent to obserue Ptholomeus that lay upon the river against him: And Alexander with the rest of the army, busie about the passing of his men into the Island before mentioned: there fel sodainly a great storm, scarcely tollerable to such as lay within the Cabines, which so much afflicted the souldiers abroad, that they forsooke theyr boates, and fled

fled againe to land. And yet for all this, theyr clamour and theyr noyse was not heard of theyr enemies though the vehemencie of the shower. As this tempest began sodainly, so it sodainly ceased: but the clowdes remained so darke, that there appeared not so much light as the souldiers might knowe one another by the face, when they spake together: which darknesse might haue feared some other man considering they had to rowe in a river y they knew not, their enemies (peradventure) wayting for them at theyr landing, whither they went, as blinde men that for glozy sought for perill. But Alexander vnderstood the thing that put other men in terrore, to serue for his purpose, and willed that euery man (vpon a signe giuen) should enter into their boates with silence: his boat was the first that lanchd from the shore, towarde the further side that was boyd of his enemies, Porus onely keeping his watch against Ptholomeus. There was but one boate that sticke fast by the way vpon a rock, and all the other recovered the land. Alexander then commaunded the souldiers to prepare theyr armes and fall into array: And whilest he was diuiding his men, to put them in order of battaile, marching towarde his enemies: It was reported to Porus, that a great number of men of warre were come

The eight booke

ouer the river, & lanced, which wold straight wayes giue him the battaile. But he at the first (accozding to the fault that is mans nature, thzough the ouermuch confidence that he had in himselfe) beleued not the matter, but thought that Abiafares which was confederate with him, had come in his assistance. Yet when the day appeared, and the matter was manifest, Porus then put forth a hundred armed wagons, & four thousand hozsmen, vnder the leading of Hagus his bzother, to keepe Alexander dzing. They counted those wagons theyz principall force: for euery one of them carried six men, two Archers, two with fackets, and two that ruled the hozles, which were not vnarmed: but when it came to the fight, they let their reines loose, and bestowed their darts amongst their enemies. But the use of those wagons serued that day to small purpose: for the sholwer that had fallen moze violently then was accustomed, had made the fields so wet & slabby, that the wagons could not stirre, but stucke in the myze, and became immoueable: wheras Alexander being without baggage, or any thing that might be impediment vnto him, fiercely invaded his enemies. The Scythians and the Dahans were the first that gaue the onset: and Perdicas was appointed with the hozsmen to charge

upon the right hand battaile of the Indians. Then the battailes beginning to ioine on all parts, they that had the charge of the wagons counting them the last refuge, slacked theyz reines, and rushed forwards into the middell of the fight. The comming of these wagons appeared to be a matter dangerous & doubtful to both parties. For at the first bzant both the Macedons were bozn ouer & ouerthzown by them: and when the wagons came in any rough or myzie places, the Indians were thzown out of them. For when the hozles that bzew them were once galled, and put in feare, they carryed the wagons without gouernement, and tumbled part in the myze, and part in the river: A selue trauesed the fields, and fled for succour vnto Porus, who seeing his wagons scattered all ouer the fields, and wander about with theyz Kulers, distributed the charge of his Elephants amongst his friends, and placed his footemen, and Archers behinde them. He had many that sounded vpon Timbrels (being Instruments that the Indians vse in steade of Trumpets) wherewith theyz eares were so filled, that the noyse of theyz enemies litle moued them. They bare also the Image of Hercules in the front of theyz foot battaile, which was done for an encouragement for them to fight well, and for a note of re-

profe & offence to them that should flie from that theyr standard: For it was losse of life to them that left it in the field. So that the feare that they conceived of Hercules that sometime had bene theyr enemye, was then turned into a veneration & a religion. The sight both of the Elephants, and Porus himselfe, astonished the Macedons, and caused the a while to stay. For the beastes being set in order amongst the armed men, shewed a far off like high towers, and Porus himselfe exceeding in manner the stature of many, the Elephant whereupon hee did ride, was a setting forth vnto his highnesse, which excelled so much all the other Elephants, as hee himselfe excelled the rest of men: So that Alexander beholding both Porus and his power, saide, that at length hee had found a pearle equall vnto his heart. For we haue to doe (quoth he) both with terrible beasts, and with notable men of war. And thereupon looked towards Cenon, and saide vnto him: When I with Ptholomeus, Perdicas, and Ephestion, shall set vpon the left battaile of our enemies, and you shall see vs in the heate of the fight, do you then set forwardes my right battaile: and freshly assaile them, when you see them begin to fall out of order. Antigonus, Leonatus, and Taaron, you bend against theyr maine battaile, and set

vpon

vpon their front. Our pikes be long & strong, and cannot serue to any better vse, the against the Elephants, wherewith they may be thrust through, and such ouertowone as be carried vpon theyr backs. The Elephants be but an vncertaine force, which vse to doe most harme vnto theyr owne part: for as they vse to goe against theyr enemies so long as they be at commaundement: So when they be once put in feare, they turne against theyr owne side, and shewe most rage towards them. Hee had not so soone spoken those wordes, but he put spurres to his horse, passing against his enemies: and when, according to his appointment hee had giuen the charge, Cenon with a great force brake vpon the left battaile. And the Phalang at the same instant brake in amongst the midst of theyr enemies. When Porus sawe the horsemen gaue the charge, he put forwardes his Elephants to encounter them. But they being slow beasts, and not apt sodainly to moue, were prevented by the swiftnesse of the horses: and theyr bowes stood not them in any great steade: for by reason theyr arrows were so long & heavy, that they could not nocke them within theyr bowes, except they staid first theyr bowes vpon the ground, and the ground being so slippery that they could haue no perfect footing: whilest they

¶ 4

were

were preparing themselves to shooe, they² enemies were come amongst them. Then every man fledde from the order that Porus had giuen, as it chaunceth oftentimes amongst troubled mindes, where feare beareth more rule, than the Captaines appointment. For in so many parts as they² army was diuided, so many generals became amōg them. Some would ioyne all they² battailes in one: other would haue them diuided. Some willed to stay, and other to goe forwarde, and inclose they² enemies about: There was no generall consultation amongst them. Porus notwithstanding accompanied with a fewe, with whose shame p²tailed more then feare, assembled such of his forces together, as were disperced abroad, and went forwarde against his enemies, setting his Elephants in the front of the battaile. They put the Macedons in feare, troubling with their vnswonted crie, not onely the horse that naturally doe feare them, but also amazed the men, and disturbed they² order. Insomuch that they which a little before thought themselves victors, looked about which way to flie and saue themselves: which thing when Alexander perceiued, he sent against the Elephants, the Agrians and Thracians, that were men light armed, and apter to skirmish a farre off, than to fight hand to hand.

hand. They gaue the Elephants and their gouernours much adoe, and soze afflicted them with the multitude of their darts and arrowes that they bestowed amongst them: and the phalanx came constantly forwarde against them that were in feare. But such as pressed ouerforward in fighting with the Elephants, procured their manifest destruction: who being trampled to death with their feet, were an example to other, not to be ouer-hastie in adu²nturing themselves. The most terrible sight was, when the Elephants with their long trunks called Proboscides, tooke men in their armour from the ground, and deliuered them up to their gouernours. The battaile was prolonged doubtfully till the day was farre spent: the Souldiers sometimes flying from the Elephants, and sometime pursuing after them, untill that with a certaine kinde of crooked weapons called Copidae, (prepared for the purpose) they cut the Elephants vpon² legs. Whose the Macedons had right aptly deuised, for not onely the feare of death, but also the feare of a new kinde of torment in death, caused them to leaue nothing vnproued. Finally the Elephants wearied with wounds, with their violent struggling did cast their gouernours to the earth, and tare them in peeces: for they were put in such feare, that they were no more

more hurtfull to their enemies, but diuened out of the battaile like sheepe. Porus being forsaken of the more part of his men, ceased not to cast darts, wherof he had plenty prepared vpon his Elephant, amongst them that flocked about him, wherby he wounding many, by reason he lay open to euery mans blow, was laid at on all parts, til he had receiued nine wounds behind and before, through the which hee bled so much, y he had no power to cast any more, but for feebleness they fell out of his hands. The Elephant also which he did ride vpon, pricked towards with furie, made a great disturbance amongst the Macedons, vntill that his gouernour seeing the king so faint, that hee let fall his Darts, and to be almost past his remembrance, stirred y beast to flie away, whom Alexander followed in all hast that he might: but his horse that was thrust in with many wounds, fell downe dead vnder him: Wherefore whiles he was about to chaunge and take an other, was cast far behinde. In the meane season Taxiles brother, that was sent by Alexander vnto Porus, began to exhort him that he should not be so obstinate to proue the extremitie, but rather yeld himselfe vnto the victor. But he notwithstanding that his strength was neare past, and his blood failed, yet stirred vp at a knowne voice, said, that

hee knew him to be the brother of Taxiles, a traitor to his king and his countrey, and with that word tooke a dart which by chance was not fallen away, and threw it so at Taxiles brother, that it passed through the midst of his breast vnto his back. And hauing shewed this last proue of his manhood, fled againe more fast then before: but when the Elephant thorough many wounds that he had receiued, fainted in like sort, then he stayed, and turned his footemen towards his enemies that pursued him. By that time Alexander was come neare vnto him, who vnderstanding the wilfulness of Porus, willed none to be spared that made resistance: Wherevpon euery man threw theyr Darts against Porus, and such footemen as stood in their defence: wherewith at length he was so oppressed, that he began to fall from his Elephant. When the Indian which was his gouernour, thinking that Porus desired to haue lighted, caused the beast after his accustomed maner to bend towards the earth, which submitting himselfe, al the rest as they were taught, bowed downe their bodies likewise: which was the cause of Porus taking, and of the rest. When Alex. saw Porus bound on y ground, he caused him to be spoiled, thinking hee had bene dead, and diuers ranne about him to

pull

The eighth booke
pull off his harnesse and his besture : which thing when the Elephant saw, he began to defend his maister, running vpon his spoylers, and went about to lift him againe vpon his backe : wher vpon they all setting vpon y^e Elephant slew him, & laid Porus in a cart : whom when Alexander did behold, lifting vp his eyes, and moued with no hatred, but with compassion, said vnto him :

What mischiefe and madnesse was in thy minde, hearing of the fame of mine acts, to hazard the battaile with me and my power, seeing *Taxiles* was so neare an ensample of the clemencie that I vse to such as submit themselves?

To whom he made answere :

For so much (quoth he) as I am demanded a question, I wil answer as freely as I am spoken vnto. Knowing mine own strength, and not hauing proued thine, I thought no man of greater power then my selfe: but now the successe of this battaile hath declared thee to be mightier. And yet therein I do impute to my self no litle felicitie, that I haue woon the second place, and am next vnto thee.

He was asked mozeouer his opinion, after what maner he thought good y^e victoery should be vled :

Vse it (quoth hee) after such sort as this
dayes

dayes fortune shal put in thy minde, where- in there hath bene sufficient prooffe shewed, how transitorie the felicitie of man is.

This adimonishment auailed him moze, than if he had submitted himself, or made any sute. For when Alexander sawe the greatnesse of his courage, and his heart so voyd of feare, that it could not be broken with any aduersity, he was moued not only to giue him his life, but also honozably to entertaine him. For so long as he lay diseased of his wounds, he tooke no lesse care of his curing, than if he had fought in his quarell. And when he was once healed, (contrary to that which all men looked for) he receiued him amongst the number of his friends, and enlarged his kingdome greater than befoze. There was nothing in Alexanders nature moze perfect, or moze constant, then that he would euer haue vertue in admiration, when it was such, that it deserved true praise and glozie : specially when he sawe the same in his enemy. For when it chaunced in any of his owne men, it was somewhat terrible vnto him, thinking that thir same might be a destruction to his owne greatnesse, which he euer thought to grow greater, as they were of greatnesse that he subdued.



The ninth Booke of Quintus
Curtius, of the acts of Alex-
ander the great, King of
Macedon.



Alexander reioycing in
this so notable a victorie,
whereby he saw the con-
fines of the Orient ope-
ned vnto him, offered
vp sacrifice to the Sun:
and to cause his Souldi-
ers to bee more willing
to go forwards in finishing the rest of y^e wars,
assembled them together, and (after hee had
commended their doings) declared how in
that latter battaile they had defeated and bro-
ken the force of all the Indians power, and
should finde from thenceforth nothing but a
plentifull pray. For he said that in the country
wherebnto he was going, the riches chiefly
remained that was so much spoken of through-
out the whole world, in respect whereof, the
spoiles of the Persians were but vile & bag-
gage: and that occasion was now giuen them,
not onely to fill their owne houses, but also all

Mace-

Macedonia & Greece with pearls, with pre-
cious stones, with gold, and with Iuoy. The
souldiers being desirous both of riches and of
glozy, because they had neuer found his words
vain, promised him to do whatsoeuer he wold
haue them, wher vpon he dismissed them full of
good hope, and set them about the making of
ships, to the intent that hauing ouerrunne all
Asia, he might visit the Ocean sea, that was
in the end of all the world. The mountaines
next at hand were plentiful of timber to make
ships withall, in cutting downe whereof the
Macedons found Serpents of such bignesse,
as they had not seene before, and also Rhino-
cerotes, beasts that be seldome found in any
other place, which name was giuen to them
by the Grækes: For in the Indian language
they are otherwise called. Alexander built
a Cittie vpon eyther side of the riuer of
Hidaspis, which once performed, he gaue to
every one of his Captaines a crowne of gold,
and a thousand peces of gold besides: prefer-
ring and rewarding every other, according to
their qualitie, degree, & deservings. Abiases
which had sent Embassadors vnto Alexan-
der before the battaile fought with Porus,
sent then Embassadors to him again, offering
to do all things that he wold appoint, so that
he might keepe his body at libertie: for he de-
sired

fired not to liue, except hee might remaine a
 king: and he thought himfelfe vnmeet to raig
 after he had bene once a captiue. He fignifi
 ed againe to Abiafares, that if his comming
 fhould be grieuous, he would not ftick to vifit
 him in perfon. Having thus vanquifhed Po
 rus, and paffed the riuer of Hidafpis, he went
 forward into the inner parts of India, which
 was a country full of great woods, and high
 trees, the aire very holfoe & temperate, the
 fhadow of the trees miffigating the heate of
 the Sun, and the plenty of fprings keeping the
 ground moift: there were alfo many ferpents
 feene, whole fcales glifted like gold. There
 was nothing more dangerous, than the poi
 fon proceeding from them: for immediately
 vpon the ftinging, death followed, vntill fuch
 time as the inhabitants of the Countrey shew
 ed a remedie. From thence through defarts
 they came vnto the great Ziuier of Hiarotis,
 wherevnto there ioyned a great wood, which
 hauing fuch trees as are not wont to be feene
 in other places, was alfo full of wild Pecocks.
 Alexander removing his campe from thence
 wan a towne by affault, and taking pledges,
 appointed them to pay tribute. After that he
 came to a great Citie (after the maner of that
 country) which was both well walled, and al
 fo enuironed about with a mic. The inha
 bitants

bitants came forth againft Alexander, and
 ioyning their carts together in a front (where
 in their cuftome was to fight) they pntered
 him the battaile. Some occupied darts, fome
 fpeares, and other ares, and with great agili
 tie leaped too and fro, to their carts, when ey
 ther they would relieue their fellows that
 were weary of fighting, or elfe fuccor or rescue
 fuch as were in diftreffe. This vntwonted
 kind of fighting put the Macedons at the firft
 in feare, fpecially being hurt a far off by theyr
 enemies, and not able to come to hand ftripes
 with them. But after they had confidered
 their difordered maner, they eftemed not their
 force, but enclosed their enemies about, and
 thruft them in with pikes: and the foner to
 defeat them, they cut the bands wherewith
 the carts were tyed, to feperate them afun
 der. When they had after that maner loft
 eight hundred of their men, they fled againe
 into the Citie, which the next day the Mace
 dons did win by affault. Certaine there were
 that faued themfelues by flying, which feeing
 the Citie loft, fwom ouer the water, and filled
 all the townes therabout with feare. They de
 clared of what inuincible force their enemies
 were, iudging them in refpect of their power,
 rather to be Gods than mortal men. When
 Alexander had gotten that Citie, hee lent
 Perdicas

Perdicas with a part of his Army to destroy the country, and committing an other part to Eumenes for the subduing of such as would not become obedient, he with the rest of his power, came vnto a strōg citie, which was the refuge of all the Countrey thereabout. Notwithstanding that the inhabitants sent to Alexander for peace, yet they prepared neuertheless for the warre, by reason of a sedition which rose amongst them, that made them to be of diuers opinions: Some would rather haue endured any extremitie thā to yeeld, and other thought they were not able to make resistance, and whilst they differed so in opinions, and made no common consultation amongst themselves, such as held opinion to yeeld vpon the citie, opened the gates and receiued in their enemies. And notwithstanding that Alexander had iust cause of displeasure against the contrary faction, yet he pardoned them al, and receiuing their pledges, remoued towards the next Citie. When the Indians that stood before the walles, sawe the pledges that were brought before the Army, whom they perceiued to be of the same Nation, desired communicatiō with them: who declaring both the kings clemencie & his force, did moue them to render vpon their Cittie, whose example the rest of the cities did follow. Fro thence

he

he came into the Citie of Sophires, which is a nation (as the Indians thinke) most excellling in wisdom, best gouerned, and that haue the best customes amongst them. The children that be there gotten, are not nourished and brought vp according to the will of their parents, but by the order of such as haue the charge committed vnto them to view & state of the infants. If they perceiue any not apt to become actiue, or else wanting any of their limbs, they cause them straightwaies to be killed. They vse to marry without any respect of kindred they come of, or greatnes of parētage, making no choise, but in the shape of the body, which is the thing onely esteemed amongst them. The king himself was within the chiefe citie of the countrie, against the which Alexander brought his power. The gates were shut, and no man appeared in armes vpon the wals to make any defence: wherefore he stood in doubt a great while, whether the citie was abandoned, or els that the inhabiteurs had kept themselves secret for some policie. Whiles he remained in that expectation, suddenly y gate was opened, & the King (which in goodlinesse of person excelled all the rest) came forth with his two sons. He ware a garment of gold, and purple empales, that couered the calfe of his leg, and the soles he ware on his fete were set

Bk 2

with

with precious stones. All his armes were garnished with pearls, & had hanging at his ears two precious stones, which were excellent both for bignes & brightnesse: and there he had a scepter of gold set with precious stones, called Berilli, which he (after his salutation made) with humble submission delivered vnto Alexander: yielding both himselfe, his children, and his kingdom into his hands. There were in that countrey very notable dogges for the hunting of wilde beastes, which specially were giuen to be eager vpon the Lyon. The king therfore to shewe their force and propriety vnto Alexander, put foure of them vnto a great Lyon, which straightwayes caught him fast. When one which was accustomed to that office, took one of those dogges by the legge to plucke him from the Lyon, and because hee would not lose his holde, cut off his legge with a sword. But when the dogge stucke neuerthelesse vnto his game, hee was cut in sunder by peece meale, till such time as he died, hauing his teeth still fastned in the Lyons flesh, such a feruentnesse of nature had wrought in those beastes, as wee vnderstand by the report. Sometime I am enforced to write things that I can scarcely beleue: for I neither dare affirme the things whereof I doubt, nor conceale such things as I haue received

received for truth. Alexander leauing this king within his stone kingdome, came vnto the river of Hydaspes, and there ioyned with Ephesion, which had subdued the countrey thereabout. One Phegelas was king of the next nation, which commaunding his subiects to continue in tilling of the ground as they were wont to doe, met Alexander with rich presents, refusing nothing that was commanded him. When he had taried with him two daies and was determined y third day to haue passed the Riuer, he found therein great difficultie, by reason that the streame was so large and full of great stones: Hee stayed therfore a while to bee more fully aduertised of the state of those countries, and of all such things as were necessary for him to know. He vnderstood by Phegelas, how beyond that riuer there lay a desert of ten daies iourney, and next to that desert the riuer of Ganges, which was the greatest riuer in all the Orient. Hee shewed that beyond Ganges there inhabited two nations called Gangaridans, and Pharasians, whose king was called Aggramenes, which used to come to the field with twenty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, two thousand armed wagons, and three thousand Elephants, which were counted the greatest terror. Whose things seemed incredible

dible vnto Alexander, and therfore enquired of Porus, if the things were true that had bin told him. He confirmed Phegelas report concerning the force of the Nation. But he said their king was come of a noble blood, but of the basest sort of men, whose father being a barbour, and with great pain getting his daily living, came in fauour with the Queene, who brought him to haue all the doings about the king her husband, which was afterwards slaine by their treason. When he vnder colour to become tutor vnto the children, vsurped the kingdome to himselfe, and putting y^e children to death, did beget him that was then king, being in hatred and disgrace of the people, as one that followed more the manners of his fathers former estate, than such as did becom the dignitie of a Prince. When Alexander heard Porus affirme this matter, he became in great trouble of mind, not that he regarded y^e multitude of his enemies, nor the force of their Elephants: but he feared the greatnes of the riuers, and the situation of the country, so difficult to enter vpon. He thought it a hard enterprise to seeke out Nations so far inhabiting in the uttermost boundes of the world. Yet on the other side, the greedinesse of glory, and the insatiable desire of fame, made no place to seeme too far, nor no aduenture to be

be ouerhard. He doubted also that the Macedons which had passed so many countries, and were woren aged with warres, would not be content to follow him ouer so many riuers, and against so many difficulties of nature lying in their way. For he iudged that since they abounded and were so laden with spoile, they would rather seeke to enioy such things as they had gotten, then to trauell any further in getting of more, he could not think the same appetite to be in his souldiers, that was in him selfe. For he compassed in his minde how to get y^e Empire of the whole world, into which matter he had but made his entry: whereas they wearied with trauell, and thinking to haue past all perill, looked to enioy with speed the fruite of all their labour: yet for all that his affection ouercame reason. For he assembled his army together, and spake vnto them after this maner.

I am not ignorant (my souldiers) how that there be now many rumors sowed amongst you by the Indians, purposely to bring you in feare. But the vanity of their lying is not so new a thing, that it is able now to deceiue you. The Persians after that maner would haue made the straights of *Silicia*, and the plains of *Mesopotamia*, terrible vnto you, yea and put you in fear of the riuers of *Tyger* and

Euphrates, and yet we waded ouer one of them, and passed the other by a bridge. The same neuer reporteth things truly, but maketh all things greater than they be indeed. Euen our glory though it bee growne to a certain perfection, yet it is more in fame, than in effect. Which of you of late did think that you should haue bene able to endure the Elephants, shewing a far off like castles? who thought I could haue passed the river of *Hidaspes*, whē it was reported to be much greater than it was? We shuld long ago (my souldiers) haue fled out of *Asia*, if tales could haue caused vs to turne our backes. Thinke you that the number of the Elephants be greater then you haue seene heards of beasts in other places? seeing they be so rare in the world, and so strange to be taken, there must needs bee much more difficultie in the making of them tame. The same vanitie that hath reported thē to you to be of such number, hath numbred also their horsemen and their footemen. Concerning the Riuer, the more broad they be, the more gently they must runne. For such as be narrow and of small breadth, run alwaies with the most vehement streame, whereas contrariwise, the broad riuer passe their course more mildely. But you will peraduenture say that all the

perill

perill is at the shore, where your enemies shall wayt for your arriual. Whatsoeuer the river be, the hazard is all one at the landing. But imagine that all those things were true, whether is it the greatnes of the beastes, or the multitude of the men that put you in feare? As concerning the Elephants, wee haue had experience of them of late, how much more rigorously they rage against their own partie, than against vs, what shuld we esteeme them, but only abate the greatnes of their bodies with such weapons as we haue prepared for the purpose? What matter is it whether they be of the like number that *Porus* had, or whether they bee three thousand, seeing we perceiue that whē two or three be wounded, the rest bend themselves to flie away? And forasmuch as they cannot well be gouerned when they be but fewe, when there be so many thousands together, they must needs be an impediment one to another, & breed a confusio amongst themselves: they be so vnwiely by reason of their huge bodies, that they bee neither apt to passe forwards, nor yet to flie. I haue alwaies so little esteemed them, that when I haue had pientie of that kind, I would neuer vse them: knowing very well that they be more dangerous to such as occupy them,

than

than they be to their enemies. But perad-
 venture it is the multitude of their horsemen
 and footmen that moue you: were you ne-
 uer wont to fight against such numbers? or
 is it the first time you haue incountred with
 disordred multitudes? The riuer of *Granike*
 is a witnes how inuincible the power of the
 Macedons is against any multitude. And
 so is *Silicia* that flowed with the Persians
 blood, and *Arbella*, whose plaines be strew-
 ed with theyr bones. It is ouer late to count
 the number of your enemies, after that
 with your victorie yee haue made *Asia* de-
 sert: when yee passed ouer *Helespont*, you
 should then haue considered your smal num-
 ber. Now the Scythians doo follow vs, we
 haue aide at hand from the Bactrians, & we
 supply our power with the Sogdians. Yet
 for all that, it is not in them, in whom I put
 my confidence. I haue a regard vnto your
 force: I reserve your manhood about me, as
 a pledge & assurance of my acts & doings.
 So long as I may stand in the field among
 you, I wil neither weigh my self, nor mine e-
 nemies. Do you but shewe an appearance,
 that there is hope in you and chearfulnesse.
 We are not now newly entred into our tra-
 uales, but haue passed all our labors, being
 come vnto the rising of the Sun, and to the

Ocean

Ocean sea, except our owne sloth be our
 impediment. From thence hauing subued
 the world, we shall returne as victors into
 our country. Do not you as these negligent
 husbandmen, that lose their fruite after it is
 once ripe. The rewards of our iourney be
 greater than our perill. The countrey that
 we goe vnto is rich and of no force: thither
 I purpose to bring you, both to win glory,
 and to get you spoile. For worthy are you to
 carry such riches into your countrey: which
 be so plentifull there, that the sea doth cast
 them vp against the shore. You be men of
 that vertue, that ye ought to leaue nothing
 vnprovided, nor nothing vndone for feare:
 I desire and pray you by the glory ye haue
 gotten, in which ye exceed the state of men,
 and by all that I haue deserued of you, and
 you of me, where with ye remaine as inuin-
 cible, that ye wil not forsake mee, purposing
 to visit the end of the world, me I say that
 haue bin broght vp as a child amongst you.
 I wil make no mention how I am your king:
 In the rest of things I haue commaded you,
 let me now intreat you as in this one point.
 It is I y^e make this request vnto you, which
 neuer comaded you any thing, but I put my
 self formost in y^e aduecture & danger, and the
 which oftentimes my selfe haue beene the

fore

foremost in defence of the battell: take not the victory out of my hands, with the which (if enuy be not the let) I shal become equal in glory both to *Hercules* and *Bacchus*. Give your assent to mine intercessiō, and at length breake your obstinat silence. Where is your shouting become that was wont to be a declaration of your chearfulness? Where be the countenances of my country men? I know not my souldiers, and it seemeth that I am not knowne of you. Me thinks I cry to your deafe eares in vaine, and goe about in waste to stirre vp your vnwilling, and vnmoveable mindes.

Notwithstanding al these words, they hung down their heads towards the earth, & persevered still in silence. Then he proceeded:

I knowe not (quoth hee) wherein I have unwittingly offended you, that you wil not once vouchsafe to looke mee in the face. I seeme to be solitary, and in a desert. Is there none of you that I speake vnto will answere me? Is there none at the least wayes will deny my request? What is the thing that I require even your owne glory, and your owne encrease? Where be they now that I sawe not long agoe contending who should first take vp their king, when hee was wounded? And now ye leaue mee alone: you forsake
me,

me, ye betray me to mine enemies. But I wil not leaue mine enterprise though I goe alone. Put mee forwards to those Riuers, to those beasts, and to those nations, the very names of whom ye feare so much. The Scythians and Braſtrians shal goe with mee, which of late were mine enemies, and now be my souldiers. I had rather die, than be a king to be ruled, & at other ments appointment. Depart home, goe I say, and triumph of the abandoning of your king. For I will rather obtaine here the victory, wherof you haue dispaired, or else die a death that shal be honourable.

Notwithstanding all that he had said, there was not one Souldier that would open his mouth to speake, but stood wayting that some of the Princes and great Captaines should declare vnto the king their states, & how that there remained not in them any obstinate refusal of the wars, but that they were exhausted with wounds, & wearied with continuall trauell, that they were not able to endure any longer. As they stood thus astonied and afraid in silence, and looking vpon the ground, there began first a whispering and a rumoz among them, and afterwards a lamentation: and by little and little they began moze manifestly to shewe theyr dolour, the teares falling from
theyr

they eyes. The Kinges anger was then so turned into compassion, that he was not able neyther to keepe himselfe from teares, but the whole assembly did burst out into an excessiue weeping. And when the rest were at a stay to speake, Cenus took upon him to presse forwards towards the iudgement seat, where Alexander stood, signifying that he had somewhat to say. When the souldiers sawe him pull his helmet frō his head (for so it was the custome to speake vnto the king) they beganne to require him that he would utter the cause of the whole army. When Cenus began on this wise.

The Gods defend our mindes from all wicked thoughts, as I doubt not but they wil: there are none of your souldiers, but of the same mind towards you, that they haue bene in times past, whether it be your pleasure to commaund them to goe forwards to fight, & to hazard themselves, or with their blood commend their name vnto the posteritie. And if you wil needs perseuere in your opinion, though we be vnarmed, naked, and without blood, wee will either come after you, or goe before, as you shall thinke expedient: But if you will bee content to heare your souldiers griefts and complaints which be not fained, but expressed by force of ver-

ry

ry necessitie, I humbly beseech you then, that ye would vouchsafe fauourably to hear them, that constantly haue followed your authoritie and fortune, and are yet ready to follow wheresoeuer you will appoint. O Alexander, with the greatnes of your acts, ye haue not ouercome only your enemies, but also your owne souldiers, whatsoeuer mans mans mortalitie is able to fulfill, that is performed by vs, hauing passed ouer so many Seas, & countries better knowne to vs than to the very inhabitants, now remaining in manner in the vttermost end of the world. And yet for all this, your purpose is to passe into an other world, & seeke out an *Inde* vnkowne to the Indians. Ye couet to plucke out the wild beasts & Serpents out of theyr denes & lurking places, minding to search further with your victory thē the Sun hath visited with his beames, which truly is an imagination meet for your heart, but far exceeding our capacitie & power. Your manhood & courage is alwaies in increase: but our force groweth in declinatiō. Behold our bodies destitute of blood, pierced with so many wounds, & rotted with so many scars. Our weapons now be dulled, and our armor is wasted and consumed: we weare our apparell after the Persians manner, because

our

our country garments do fayle vs: wee are degenerate out of our owne fashion, and growne into a strange habit, what is he that hath his corslet, or horse particular to himselfe? Cause it to be enquired how many remaine amongst vs, and what remaineth to euery man of the spoyle. Being the victors of all men, of all men we are the poorest. It is not aboundance or excesse that troubleth vs, but the very warre it selfe: Our munition is consumed, and yet ye minde to put forth this goodly army of yours naked to those beasts: The multitude of whō, though the Indians purposely do encrease, yet of their vain report we may perceiue the number to be great. But if ye be vterly determined to passe yet further into *Inde*, the country that lyeth Southward is not so desert as the other, which being subdued, ye may passe to that Sea, which nature hath appointed to bound in the world. Why doo you seek that glory a farre off, which remaineth to you readie at your hand? Here the Ocean Sea doth meet vs, and except your mind be to wander, we are come to the place predestinate to vs. I had rather speake these things before you, then behind your backe: for I seeke to win fauour amongst the men of war that stand here about mee, but desire
you

you should rather heare their mindes expressed in plaine words, then to heare theyr griefe & their grudge vttered in muttering, and in murmure.

When Cenus had made an end of his tale, there rose a crye and lamentation, which with confused voyces euery where called Alexander theyr King, theyr Father, and theyr Lord. Then the other Captaines (and specially the Eldest, which by reason of their age had the more honest excuse, and greater authoritie) made the like request, so that the King was not able to chastise them being in that obstinacy, nor mittigat them being so moued: therefore vncertaine what to do, he leapt from the iudgement place, & commaunding his lodging to bee shut in, admitted no man but such as were accustomed about his person. Two daies he consumed in his anger, & the third he came forth amongst his men, causing 12. altars of square stone ther to be set vp, as a monument of his iourney, and willed the trenches of his camp to be made wider, and the places where the souldiers lay to bee enlarged greater than before for the bignesse of theyr bodies: thinking by the forme and shape of things thus increased, to leaue a deceitfull wonder to his posteritie. From thence he returned againe by the way he had passed before, and encamped
II I upon

upon the River of Acesines : Cenus chanced
there to die, whose death the King lamented :
but yet hee said y^e for so few daies he had made
ouer long an oratio: as though he alone should
haue returned into Macedon. By that time
the nauy of ships which hee had appointed to
be made, stood in readines afloate : & Memnon
in the mean season brought him out of Thrace
a supply of six thousand horsemen, and besides
from Harpalus 7000. footmen, with 25000.
armors that were wrought with silver and
gold, which he distributed amongst his men,
and commaunded the olde to be burned, pur-
posing to passe vnto the Ocean sea with a
ships. But before his departure, he reconcil-
led together by affinitie Porus and Taxiles,
betwixt whom there was a new discord risen
vpon they^e olde hatreds. He had obtained of
them great ayde, both in the making and fur-
nishing of his nauy. During the time he was
about that businesse, he builded there two Ci-
ties : wherof he called the one Nicca, and the
other Bucephalon, dedicating the latter by the
name of his horse that was dead. Hee gaue
order that his Elephants and carriage should
passe by Lande, and he sayled downe the Ri-
uer, proceeding euery day about fortie fur-
longes, so that hee might euery lande his po-
wer in such places as he thought conuenient.

At

At length hee came into a countrey whereas
the River of Hydaspes and Acesines do ioyne
together, and doe runne from thence into the
boundes of a nation called Sobions. They de-
clared that they^e predecessors came of Her-
cules Army, which being left there sicke, did
inhabit the countrey. They were cloathed in
beasts skins, vsing clubs for their weapons: and
though they had left the customs of y^e Greeks,
yet ther appeared many things among them,
that declared from whence they were descen-
ded. Heere the King landed and marched two
hundred and ten furlonges within the coun-
treys, which hee wasted : and tooke the chiefe-
st Citie in the same. There were fortie thousand
men that stood in defence against him vpon a
Rivers side, but hee passed the water, putting
them to flight, and after they fled into the Ci-
tie, he wan it by force. The children were slain,
and the rest sold as slaues. He assaulted ano-
ther Citie, where hee was repulsed with the
great force of the defendants, and lost many
of his men. But when the inhabitants sawe
that hee continued still the siege, despairing of
their safegard, they set fire on they^e houses,
burned themselves, their wiues, & their chil-
dren. Which fire when the Macedons quen-
ched, and they kindled the same againe, it se-
med a strange contention, the Citizens to de-

Troy they? owne Citie, they? enemies labouring to saue it: the warres so contrariouly chaunged the lawes wrought in man by nature: The castle was saued, wherein a garrison was left. Alexander went about this castle by water, which was environed with three of the greatest riuers in all Inde, Ganges except, Indu passing on y^e North side, and Acesine running into Hidaspis vpon the South. Where these Riuers met, the waues rose like forges of y^e sea, being full of mud, and rocks, which by the course of the water were driven vnto the sides: for all that the Riuers are broad, yet the channels are but narrow, wherein the ships must passe. The waues did rise so high and thick, breaking sometime vpon the papps of the ships, and sometime vpon the side, that the shipmen began to bayle they? Sails. But they were so troubled through feare and the violent swiftnes of the streame, that they could not order their tackling, so that two of they? greatest ships were drowned in sight: and the smaller vessels which were as vnable to be gouerned, were driven vpon the shore without any harme. The King chanced vpon the place wheras the waues went highest, wherewith his ship was so tossed and trauesed, that the helme could not direct his course. Wherefore the king doubting of drowning,

ning,

pulled off his garment ready to cast himselfe into the water, and his friends did swim neare thereabout ready to receiue him: it appearing vnto him doubtfull, which perill was greatest, either to swim or to continue still a boord. But the mariners labored wonderfully with they? Dares, adding all the force that lay in mans power to cut through the waues, by whose importunate trauaile the water seemed to diuide asunder, & to giue place, so that at length they haled out of the surges: and yet not able to bring the ship to the shore, dashed vpon the next flat, it appearing that the ships and the streame had fought a battail together. Alexander hauing escaped this perill, set vp to euery riuer an altar, wherevpon he offered due sacrifice, & that done, past forwards thirtie furlongs. From thence he came into the country of the Sudzicans & Malians, which accustomed to be at war among themselves: then for their owne defence they ioyned in societie. They assembled in armes to the number of nine thousand footmen, fenne thousand horsemen, & 9. hundred armed wagons, wherof when y^e Macedons were aduertised, which beleened that they had passed all perills, seeing a fresh warre arise, with a new fresh nation, were amazed with a sodaine feare, and began againe with seditions wordes to reprooue they?

Al 3

King.

King. They alledged that hee would lately
haue compelled them to passe y^e river of Gan-
ges, so² to make war vpon those nations lying
beyond the same: which enterprize though it
were left, they had not so² all that ended the
warre neuer the moze, but rather made an ex-
change of a new labour, beeing put forth a-
mongst this wild nation, to make the Ocean
sea open to him with they² bloud, and to bee
drawne beyond the sun and stars. They were
compelled (they say) to visite those places that
nature coueted to remoue from mans know-
ledge. They grudged that to their new armoz
there were new enemies raised vp, whome if
they should banquish and put to flight, they
could not see what benefite they could receiue
therby, but only darknes and obscuritie of the
ayze, which alwaies couered the deep sea, re-
plenished with multitude of monsters, wal-
lowing in those immouable waters, wheras
nature decaying, shee sayled of her force. The
King little moued in his owne respect, was
greatly troubled with those passiōs of his soul-
diers. Wherefore he assembled them all toge-
ther, declaring of how feeble a force those nati-
ons were, whome they feared so much, which
only remained, and were impedimēt to them
(hauing ouer passed so many countries) to at-
taine both to the full of they² trauaile, and to
the

to the ende of the world. He shewed how that
in respect of their former feare, he had left his
enterprize ouer Ganges, with the conquest of
the nations inhabiting beyond the same, and
had directed his iourney this way, whereas
they² glozy shall be as great, and they² perill
much lesse, and wherein they had not farre to
trauell, seeing the Ocean was in maner with-
in sight: the aire whereof hee felt blowing in
his face. He required them therfore that they
would not enuy the glozie that he had sought
by passing the boundes of Hercules and Bac-
chus, seeing that with so litle paine they might
giue vnto their King pepetuell fame and im-
mortalitie. In doing whereof they should de-
part out of India as victozers, whereas other-
wise they should seeme to flie away frō thence.
It is the propertie of euery multitude, and
specially of men of war, to be drawne with e-
uery little motion, amongst whom as sediti-
on doth soone arise, so it is soon pacified. There
was neuer a moze chearefull cry made of any
army befoze, than the souldiers then made to
Alexander, which willed him to leade them
whither soeuer hee would, and make himselte
equal in glozy vnto them whose actes hee did
counterfeyt. Alexander reioycing in the wil-
lingnes y^e appeared in the, remoued straight-
wayes towarde his enemies that were the

stoutest people of all the Indians. They prepared themselves stoutly for the warres, and chose for their Captaine, one of the Dridzacans, that was of an approued manhood: who encamping at the foote of a mountaine, made fires all abroad, to cause his number appeare the greater, and went about in vaine to feare the Macedons when they were in rest, by making of Alarmes, with their cries & manner of howling. When the day appeared, Alexander hauing an assured trust to win the victorie, commaunded the souldiers to put on their armour, and chearefully to fall in order of battaile. But the Indians (whether it were for feare, or by treason of some sedition risen amongst them) sodainly fledde into the desert mountaines, whom Alexander followed in vaine, and not able to ouertake them, tooke their carriage. After this he came to a citie of the Dridzacans, whereunto great numbers were fled, as well in trust of the strength of the place, as of their owne power. As Alexander was about to make the approch, Demophon his diuiner, admonished him that he should either deferre the matter, or els not medle with it at all: for that there appeared signs that his life should be in peril. When Alexander had heard his words, he beheld him, and said:

If

If any man should interrupt thee when thou art busie about thy science, or considering of the intrayles, should not he seeme vnto thee troublous, and his coming to be vngreatfull?

Yes truly (quoth he.)

So art thou now vnto me (quoth Alexander.) For hauing so great matters in hand, of more moment than the intrayles of beasts, I find no greater impediment than a superstitious diuiner.

And as soone as he had spoken the word, he caused them to reare vp ladders, & whilst other men sticke and staied at the matter, he mounted vp the wal. The same was very narrow in the top, not deuided with loopes, (as is commonly vsed) but enclosed with one whole and continual battilment round about, which caused it to be the more hard to scale. Alexander therefore hauing no conuenient room to stand at his defence, stayed vpon the wall, receiuing vpon his target the darts that were cast at him from all parts. His souldiers could not get to him, they were so beaten from the walls by the multitude of shot that came from above. Yet at last when by their staying they sawe their king giuen vp into their enemies hands, shame ouercame their imminent danger. But their ouer-much haste was too great a let,

THE TENTH BOOK
a let, and the cause why they could not come
to the rescue of their king. For whiles every
man coneted to the ladders, they were so sore
laden, that they brake a sunder, and such as
were mounted vpon them, fell downe againe,
deceiuing Alexander of his onely hope: so
that in the sight of all the Army hee stood desti-
tute as in a desert, without any aide or succor,
and had wearied his left arme (with which he
held his target) in receiuing the blowes. His
friends cryed vnto him to leape downe vnto
them, who stood in a readinesse to receiue him.
But he giuing no eare vnto them, vndertooke
an incredible enterpryse, and such one as hath
not bin heard of before, deserving rather fame
of rashnesse, then of any commendation that
might sound to his glory. For with a full leape
he cast himseife into the Citie that was full of
his enemies, wheras he could scarcely haue a-
ny hope to fight for his life, or in dying to be
reuenged on his enemies. For before he could
reouer his fete againe, it was likely either he
should haue bene slain, or taken aliue. But hee
by chance so conueyed his body, that he fel vp-
on his fete, & standing, encountred with such
as came against him: fortune so prouiding,
that he could not be enclosed about, by reason
of an old tree, which as it had bene of purpose)
stood neare vnto the wal: whose broad boughs
full

OF Quintus Curtius. 202
full of leaues couered him from aboue, and the
greatnes of the stocke kept his enemies from
comming on his back, and vpon the forefront
he receiued the darts that were cast against
him with his Target. For though there were
neuer so many that contended wth him a far off
yet durst there no man come neare vnto him:
and the boughs kept off the arrowes and the
darts, so well as his target did. In this extre-
mitie the greatnes of Alexanders fame chief-
ly fought for him, & next desperation: a great
encouragement for a man to die honestly. At
length thzough the multitude of his enemies
that continually flocked about him, both his
Target was laden with shot, his helmet was
broken with stones, and his legs fainted and
failed vnder him, by reason of his continuall
trauell: which thing when his enemies per-
ceiued, they toke lesse regard to themselues,
and drew more neare him, of whom he recei-
ued two with his sword, in such sort that they
fel downe dead at his feet. And from that time
forwards none was so bold to approach again
so neare him, but thzeu Darts and shot Ar-
rowes at him a far off. He lay open to euery
mans blow, & yet (though it were with great
paine) defended himseife vpon his knees, vntill
such time as an Indian shot an arrow at
him that was two cubits long, which a little
about

about his right thigh passed through his cost:
 let: by reason of that wound he shed so much
 blood, that he let his sword fall, as one at the
 point of death. And therewith became so faint
 that he had not strength to plucke out the ar-
 row. When the Indian which had hurt him,
 came with great joy to spoyle his body. But
 when Alexander felt his enemies hand vpon
 him, moued (as it is to be thought) with de-
 spite, to receiue an infamy to that extremitie,
 called againe his spirits that were passing a-
 way, and with his sword thrust his enemy be-
 ing vnarmed) through the body. When he
 had thus slaine two of his enemies, which lay
 dead before him, all the rest stood amazed a
 far off. When Alexander desiring before his
 last breath should faile to bee killed fighting,
 began to raise vp his body vpon his Target:
 yet his strength would not serue him there-
 vnto, and therefore reached at a bough that
 hung ouer his head, coueting thereby to haue
 raised vp himselfe. But his power not suffi-
 cing therevnto, he fel downe againe vpon his
 knees, and by a signe made with his hand, cha-
 lengered his enemies if any of them durst come
 and match with him. At the last Peucestes
 repulsing his enemies vpon an other part of
 the Citie, got into the towne, and coasting a-
 long the wals, came vnto the place where the
 king

king was. When Alexander espied him,
 though he had no hope to liue, yet he took his
 comming for a comfort to his death, and for al
 his feeblenes began to reare vp himselfe: then
 came Timeus, and within a while Leonatus,
 and after them Aristonius. When it was
 once published amongst the Indians, that A-
 lexander was entred within the wals, they
 left their defence in other places, & came floc-
 king thither, whereas they fiercely assailed
 such as stood at defence of the kings person.
 Timeus, after y hee had fought notably, and
 receiued many wounds, was there slaine. Peu-
 cestus also, notwithstanding that he was stri-
 ken and wounded with their darts, yet with
 his target he defended the kings person, with-
 out any regard of himselfe. And Leonatus
 whiles he resisted the Indians that eagerly
 pressed vpon Alexander, receiued so sore a
 stripe on the neck, that he fel down in a towne
 at the kings seate. By that time Peucestes
 became so feeble of his wounds, that he was
 not able to defend him any more. The last
 hope and refuge remained in Aristonius, who
 also was so grievously wounded, that hee
 could not endure any longer the force of y In-
 dians. In the mean season the same was spred
 amongst the Macedons, that the king was
 slaine: which being a matter that should haue
 put

put others in feare, stirred vp theyr hearts, and made them the harrier. For from that time forwards there was none that had respect of his owne perill, but aduentured vnto the wall, and breacking downe the same with pickaxes, entred at the breach, making slaughter of their enemies, of whom fewe stood at defence, but fled away.

There was neither man nor woman spared old nor yong. For they met none but they iudged him to be the person that had hurt theyr King, and so at length with the murder of the multitude, their iust ire was satisfied. Clitarchus and Timagenes do write, that Ptholomeus, which afterwards became King of Egypt, was present in this encounter. But hee himselfe, that vsed not to denie any thing that stood with his owne glory, did put in memory how that he was then absent, sent about an other enterprise. Such a negligence was then in them that did write the antiquities of things, or else as much credulitie, which is a fault no lesse than the other. When Alexander was brought into his lodging, the Surgeons cut off the scale of the shaft, in such sort that they moued not the head that was within the flesh, and when they saue the wound bare, they perceiued hookes to be within the arrow head, so that without the destruction of his

body it could not be pulled out, except by incision they made the wound greater: and yet in that point they feared least abundance of blood should be an impediment vnto them. For the head was very great, and it seemed to be entered farre within his body. There was one Critobolus that was very cunning, and most excellent amongst y^e Physicians and Surgeons, and yet in so dangerous a matter as this, hee was fearefull and in doubt to set too his hands, least if any thing should chance to the King otherwise then wel, whiles hee remained in this cure, the blame might light vpon his head. Wherefore when Alexander perceiued by his weeping the feare he was in, and that through trouble of minde he looked pale in the face, said vnto him.

What is it that thou lookest for, or why dost thou stay in ridding of me quickly out of this paine, at the leastwise by death, if thou canst not otherwise bring it to passe? For seeing my wound is vncurable, why dost thou feare that any thing should be laid vnto thy charge?

When Critobolus heard his words, hee either ceased or dissimuled his feare, & exhorted Alexander that he would suffer himselfe to be holden whilest they pulled out the Arrow head that was within his flesh: for the
least

least motion hee said might be hurtfull vnto him. The king would not be holden, but held his body at a stay without moeving, in such sort as they appointed him. When they had cut the wound wider, and pulled out the head, there issued such abundance of bloud, that the king fell in a swoone, and a dim came ouer his sight, hee stretched out himselfe as one in the pangs of death. Then they wrought all the meanes they could to stanch the bloud: but when they perceiued it would not auaille, his friends began to cry out and lament, thinking verily that there had bene no way but death. Notwithstanding at length he ceased his bleeding, and recouering againe his spirits, began to know them that stood about him. All that day and the night ensuing, the men of warre stood in armes about the kings lodging, confessing that all their liues depended vpon his breath, and would not remoue from thence, before they vnderstood that he tooke some rest. But when they knew that he was fallen in a sleepe, they returned into the campe, bringing vnto the rest more certaine hope of his recovery. Alexander about the curing of his wound, remained there seuen dayes, and vnderstanding that a constant fame of his death was spread abroad amongst the Indians, hee caused two ships to be fastned together, and a lodging

lodging to be made for him in the midst: So that remaining vpon the water, he might be seene from both sides of the land, of them that thought he had bene dead. When the country men by the view of him perceiued hee was on line, they tooke away the hope that some had conceiued vpon the false report. From thence he passed downe y streame, leauing a distance betwene his ship, and the rest of the party, to the intent that with the beating of the Dares, they should not disturbe him of his rest, which was necessary for his weak body. The fourth day after his embarking, he came into a country abandoned of the inhabiteurs, but yet plentiful both of corne and cattle, in which place he thought expedient both to rest himselfe and his souldiers. It was a custome amongst the Macedons, that when their king was diseased, the chiefe Princes, and the great men watched about his lodging: Which maner being then obserued, they entered all together into the chamber where Alexander lay: at whose sudden comming he was somewhat amazed, specially because they came all together. He thought they had brought him some strange tidings, and enquired of them if they vnderstood of any new assembly of his enemies. Then Craterus that was appointed to speake in the behalfe of them all, said to him after this maner.

Do you thinke that the dominion of any enemies could make vs so carefull (though they were entred within your campe) as we be of your health and safegard, for not all that it is a thing which you regard least? Though all nations conspire against vs with their power, though the whole world were filled full of men of warre, the Seas ouerspread with ships, and neuer so many strange beasts brought against vs; it consisteth in the moment of your person to make vs victors. But how can any God promise, that you which are the light and starre of *Macedonia*, can be of any continuance? seeing you be so desirous to put your person in such manifest perils, not remembering that with your death you drawe with you into ruine, the liues of so many of your countrey men? What is hee that eyther can, or dooth desire to liue after you? We are come so farre forth following your fortune and authoritie, that without you none of vs is able to return home again. If ye were yet contending with *Darius* for the kingdome of *Persia*, though we al would wish that you would not aduenture your person so perillously, yet in that case we could not maruell so much at your prompt audacity: For where the daunger and the benefite that ensueth thereof is equall, there the

the fruit is the greater, when the matter succeedeth well: and the comfort is the more, when the thing chanceth euill. There is no man, not onely of vs that be your souldiers, but euen of such as were your enemies, hauing any vnderstanding of your greatnesse, that can suffer so base a Towne, and of so little fame, be bought with the price of your life. My heart shrinkes at the remembrance of the thing, which we but late did see with our eyes. I am amazed to rehearse how those vile hands were in a readinesse to haue carried the spoyle of your inuincible person, if Fortune of her clemencie had not preserved and deliuered you from their crueltye.

So many of vs as were not able to follow you, were all traitors and forsakers of our Prince. And though it were a matter that lay not in your power, yet if it please you to note vs all with reproach, there is none that will refuse any punishment in the purgation of the matter. Notwithstanding we would require you that you would spare vs for some other purpose. Wee will gladly goe whither soeuer you will haue vs: we require Warre be it neuer so obscure, and couet the battel though our fighting shall want fame, so that you will reserue your selfe to those hazards.

hazards, which be meete for the greatnes of your estate. How soone doth glory vanish away and become of no praise, amongst such enemies as be of no reputation? And what thing is there more vnworthy then to consume the glory you haue gotten else-where, amongst them wheras your glory cannot appeare?

When Craterus had told his tale, Ptholome and the other spake to him in like effect: and required him all at once with weeping eyes, that hee would not from thenceforth be any more so thirstie to win praise, but seeing he had got sufficient already, he should content himselfe therewithall, and regard his health and safegard, whereupon their vniuersall estate did depend. The king tooke so gratefully their louing affection, that he familiarly embraced euery one of them, and after he had willed them to sit, repeating more deeply their former communication, hee said thus vnto them.

My faithfull louing friends and countryme, I giue & render to you my hartie thanks, not onely for that ye preferre my safegard before your owne, but also for that since the beginning of the warres ye haue not pretermitted any thing, wherein your loue and beneuolence might be shewed towards me: so
that

that I must confesse that my life was neuer so deare as it is now, because I desire long to enioy you. You bee desirous to offer your selues to death in my quarell, because you iudge that I haue deserued that beneuolence at your hands. But your imagination and mine is not after one sort. You peraduenture do couet continually to enioy me, and to take of me continuall fruite. And I measure not my self by the continuance of my time, but by the greatnesse of my glory. I might haue bene content with the riches of my father left me, and with the rest of my body haue looked for with the bounds of *Macedon*, an age obscure and without any fame. And yet I cannot see that they that liue in sloath and idlenes can assure themselves of their own destiny. For euen such as esteeme felicitie in long life, be oftentimes preuented with sudden death. But I which number not my yeres, but my victories, haue liued long, if I wil wey the gifts of fortune. For beginning mine Empire in *Macedonia*, I haue *Greece* in mine owne hands: I haue subdued *Thrace* & the *Illirians*: I raigned ouer the *Tribals* and the *Medians*, professing all *Asia* that lyeth betwixt *Hellepont* and the red sea, and now am not farre from the end of the world, the which I determined to visit, & to make open

to men a new nature, and a new world. I passed out of *Asia* into *Europe* in the moment of an houre, and being but 28. yeares olde, and hauing raigned but nine, am become victor of both Regions. Do you thinke it then meete that I should now cease from winning of that glorie, wherevnto I haue onely addicted my selfe? No, I will neuer cease: but wheresoever I shall haue occasion to fight, I shall thinke my selfe to be in the Theater, where the whole world doth behold me, I will giue nobilitie and fame to places that be obscure, and will lay open to all nations, those countries that nature hath remooued furthest from them: in dooing whereof it shall be gracefull for me to end my life, if fortune will haue it so. I am come of such a stocke, that I ought to desire many things before long life. I pray you to remember that we come into these countries where the name of a woman is much celebrated for her vertues. What Cities did *Semiramis* build? What Nations did she subdue? And what great workes did she accomplish? We are not yet become equall vnto a woman in glory, and yet you would haue me to be satisfied of laud. The Gods be fauourable vnto our purpose, for there remaines for vs yet greater things to doo. And it is the next way

way to make those countries which wee haue not yet touched, to become ours, if we esteeme nothing to bee of small valure, whereas there is any occasion to win glory. Let it be your care onely to preserue mee from euill conspiracie and treason of mine owne people, and then there be no aduenges in the warre shall put me in feare. *Philip* was more sure in the front of the battaile abroad, then when he was in quiet at home. He oftentimes auoyded the force of his enemies, but he could not eschew the violence of his owne subjects. And if you consider the end of other kings, you shall count more that haue beene slaine by their owne men, than by any forraine power. But because there is an occasion now offered mee to vtter the thing I haue long conceiued in my minde, it shall bee the greatest fruite I can receiue of my acts and my trauailes: if my mother *Olimpias*, when she departeth this life, might be consecrated to immortalitie. If she depart in my time, I will doo the thing my selfe. But if I shall be preuented by death, remember you to performe that I haue determined.

And therupon he dismissed his friends from him, and continued many dayes in the same

place. Whilest these things were a doing in India, the Greeke souldiers that had land and habitation appointed them at Catabactra, through sedition that chanced amongst them, rebelled against him: not so much for any hatred they bare him, as for feare of punishment. For they killed diuers of their chiefe rulers: and assembling in force together, took the citie of Bactria, that was negligently kept, and procured the Bactrians to rebell with them. Athenodorus was the chiefe among them, who took vpon him the name of a king, not so much for the desire of the kingdome, as by authoritie to make himselfe of power to conuey himselfe and others home into his countrey. But one Bicon of his owne nation became his enemy, and conspiring against him, did bid him to a banquet, where he was slaine by one Boxus Macerianus.

The next day following Bicon assembled the Greeces together, perswading them that he slew Athenodorus but in his owne defence whose purpose was to haue destroyed him. But there was some that perceiued his policie, and suspition was spread amongst the rest: so that the Greeces fell to armes of purpose to slay Bicon. But such as were chiefe, mitigated the wrath of the multitude, and contrary to his expectation was deliuered from that present

present perill. Yet he could not be so contented, but within a while after conspired against the that saved his life, whose falsehood knowne, they took both him and Boxus, determining that Boxus should bee put vnto death out of hande, and that Bicon should end his life by torments. As they were tormenting of him, the Greeke souldiers suddainly in a fury, for what cause it is vncertaine, ranne to armes, the noise of whom being heard with them that had the charge of Bicon did let him at libertie, fearing that the rumour had bene made for his deliery. He as he was naked came running amongst the Greeces wheras they were assembled: whose miserable estate sodainly so chaunged theyr mindes, that they willed him immediatly to be set at libertie: by this meane, Bicon being twice deliuered from death, returned into his country with the Greeces, leauing the colony wherevnto he was appointed by Alexander. These things were done in the confines of Bactria and Scithia. In the meane season the King of the two nations which we spake of before, sent an hundred Embassadors vnto Alexander, which being men of personages, ridde in wagons seemly apparelled, hauing garments of linnen cloth imbroided with golde, and impaled with purple. They declared that the cause of their coming was

was to yelde themselves, theyr Citie, theyr Country, & their libertie (which they had kept inuiolately by so many ages) to his will & appointment. Of which theyr submission the Gods (they saide) were authors, and not any feare: for they were contented to yeld themselves before they had proued theyr power with him. The king called a councell, and receiued them vnder his protection, appointing to them to pay such tribute as they before did pay to the Arachosian. And besides to send two thousand five hundred hoysmen to serue him in his warres: all which things they performed obediently. This don he made a great feast, wherevnto hee invited those Embassadors and his Lordes. He vsed therein sumptuous preparation, ordaining an hundred beds of golde to eat vpon: which being set a small distance one from another, were drazon about with curtaines garnished with gold and purple. In that feast there was shewed and set forth all the great excesse and voluptuousnes which eyther by long custome was vsed amongst the Persians, or by corruption of their old vsages taken vp amongst the Macedons: the vices of both those nations being there mingled & mixed together. There was at that feast one Dioxippus of Athens, a notable Champion, by reason of his excellent force

force well knowne vnto the king, whom certaine enuious and malicious persons, betwixt earnest and pastime did reprove, that hee was giuen for to fatten his body as an vnprofitable beast: And when that other went to the battell, he would annoint his body with oyle, and prepare himselfe to eat. Amongst other that vsed words of despite against him, there was at the same feast one Horratus a Macedon, who in his drunkennes challenged Dioxippus, that if he were a man, he should fight the combat with him the next day vpon life and death, whereas the king should iudge eyther him to bee rashe, or the other too much a dastard. Dioxippus then laughing to scoone the pride and arrogancie of the souldier, accepted his proffer. The next day they were more earnest to go vnto the combat than they were before in making of y^e challenge: therfore when the king saw them so bent, & that they would not leaue theyr purpose, he consented to theyr will. There were great numbers of men assembled at the combat, amongst whom there were many Grecians which fauoured Dioxippus part. The Macedon came into the lists armed at all points, holding in his left hand an Iron buckler and a speare, and in his right hand a casting launce, and hauing his sword besides girte to his side, was furnished as though

though hee shoulde haue fought with many men at once. Dioxippus came forth, anointed with oyle, with a garland vpon his head, and hauing a red cloth wrapt about his left arme, held in his right hand a great knotte cudgell. The diuersitie of theyr furnishings brought euery man into a wonderfull expectation. For they could not thinke it only a rashnesse, but a madnesse, for Dioxippus that was naked, to match with the other that was armed. The Macedon thinking to kill his aduersary before they shoulde come to handie stripes, threw at him his Launce, which Dioxippus auoyded by bending of his bodie, and before that hee could charge his pyke hee leaped to him, and with his cudgell brake the same asunder. When the Macedon had lost both his weapons, he beganne to drawe his sword: but Dioxippus prevented him with a cloase, and taking both his feet from vnder him, threw him vnto the earth, and there plucking his sword from him, set his foote vpon his necke, and held vp his cudgell to haue striken out his braines if the king had not caused him to stay his hand. This triumph ended with displeasure both vnto the Macedons, and vnto Alexander himself: specially because this thing was done in the Indians presence: fearing least the valiantnes

liantnes of the Macedons, famed so much in the world, might therby come into contempt. Wherevpon Alexander grudging at Dioxippus, bare his eares open to the accusation of the enuious. They within a few days after had caused a golden cup purposely to be conueyed out of the way: which the ministers hauing imbezeled, made complaint vnto Alexander of the losse thereof. Oft times men shewe lesse constancy in countenance, than in the offence it selfe. For in their complaint Dioxippus perceiued by their looks, that they noted him as the thiefe, which he could not endure, but parting out of the feast (after hee had written a letter to the king) he killed himselfe. Alexander was very sorry for his death, which he tooke for no token of repentance, but rather of indignation. For afterwards it appeared through the ouermuch reioycing of his enemies, that he had bene falsly accused. The Embassadors of the Indians that were dismissed home, within a few days after returned againe, presenting vnto Alexander three hundred horses, a thousand and thirtie wagons, euery one drawn with foure horses, certaine vestures of linnen cloth, a thousand Indian targets, and one hundred talents of Iron, both Lyons of a rare bignesse, and Lygers that were made tame, the skins of great
Lyards,

Myads, and the shels of certaine fishes. The king then commaunded Craterus to conduct his army along the Riuer: wherupon he sailed, and he imbarcking such as were wont to accompany him, with the streame passed into the bounds of the Mallians, and from thence came vnto the Sabzacans, which was a Nation of great power, not ruled by kings, but by a gouernment of the people. They had gathered together sixe thousand footemen, and six thousand horsemen, and five hundred armed wagons, and had chosen three Captaines that were approued men of war. But when such as inhabited next vnto the Riuer (the bankes being full of villages) saw all the Riuer so far as they could view, overspzed with ships, and the armor glistering of so many men of war, they were amazed with the strangenes of the sight, and thought that some army of Gods or els Bacchus (whose name was famous amongst those Nations) had beene come amongst them. The cry of the men of warre, with the clashing of the oares, and the strange noise of the marriners exhorting one another, filled full their fearfull eares. They ran therefore amongst their country men which had assembled their force, declaring their madnesse if they would contend with Gods. For they sayd the ships could not be numbezd that car-

ried

ried those inuincible people: With which wordes they put such feare amongst the men of warre of their owne Nation, that they sent immediately Embassadors to yeeld theselues. When hee had receiued theyr submission, hee came the fourth day into another country, the people whereof durst no more withstand him than the rest did: and there he builded a Citie which hee named Alexandria: and from thence entred into a countrey, the inhabitants whereof they called Musicans. Where he vnderstood by the accusation of the Paromissians, that Desterioles (whome Alexander had appointed Lieuetenant amongst them) had ruled in excessive pride and couetousnes, and therefore commaunded him to bee put to death. And Oxiatres Lieuetenaunt of the Bactrians being also accused, was not onely acquitted, but also had a greater rule committed vnto him. When he had subdued the bettermost part of the Musicans, he put a garrison in their Citie, and went from thence to another Nation of the Indians called Prestians, of whom Oxicanus was king, which with a great power got himselfe into a strong Citie, which Alexander wan the third day after hee began his siege. Upon the taking of the Towne, Oxicanus fled into his castle, and sent Embassadors to treat of peace. But before they

they were come to Alexanders presence, two towers of the castle, fel with a great crash, by the ruines wherof the Macedons got into the castle, where Oxicanus which with a few standing at defence, was slaine, the castle being rased, & all y^e were within sold as slaues.

Alexander came into the boundes of Saba, where beside many holds that yielded to him, he took the strongest Citie of that country by force of a mine. It seemed a monstrous thing to the Indians (being ignorant of such policies of war) for armed men to come forth of the ground in y^e midst of their citie, whereas there appeared no signe of any way vnder y^e earth. Clitarchus doth write, that there were 80. thousand Indians slaine in that countrey, besides many prisoners sold as slaues. The Musicans in the meane time rebelled, for the oppression of whome Phyton was sent thither: who took the Prince of the Nation prisoner, and brought him vnto Alexander, whom he caused to be hanged vpon a crosse, as the author of the revolt, which done, returned againe to the River whereas he had willed his Army to tarry for him. The fourth day after passing downe the streame, he came to a Towne at the entry of the kingdome of Samus: the King wherof had newly yielded himselfe, but the citizens had shut their gates and

and would not be at commaundement: whose small number Alexander regarded so little, that he sent five hundred Agrians vnto the gates to profer the skirmish, to the intent by retiring little and little, they might draw them out of their strength, thinking they would follow the chase, when they should see their enemies flying. The Agrians did as it was appointed them: for when they had once provoked their enemies, they turned their backs, and the Indians pursued them, till they came to y^e ambushment where y^e King lay. Then the Agrians turned, and the fight was renewed againe, so that of three thousand Indians there were five hundred slaine, and a thousand taken, the rest recovered againe the Citie. But the end of the victorie was not so pleasant as it was in the beginning: for the Indians had so envenomed their swords, that such as were hurt, died of their wounds. And the physicians could not devise the cause of so strange a death: for even the very light hurts were incurable. The Indians trusted that Alexander through his rashnes might haue come within that danger, which by chance fighting amongst the thickest, escaped unhurt. Ptholomeus was lightly wounded vpon the left shoulder, who being in a greater danger than the greatnes of his wound shewed, caused the

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King

king to be carefull of him. For he was neare
of his kinne, and some thought Philip was
his father: but it is certaine that his mother
was Philip his concubine. Hee was one of
them that had the charge of the kings person,
a valiant man of warre, and yet more famous
in the faculties of peace. He was moderate
both in his apparell and liuing, liberall, easie
to be spoken too, and without any such height
of mind, as is wont to be in men descended
of bloud royall: by reason of which qualities, it
is vncertaine whether he was better beloued
with the king, or with the rest of men. That
was the first occasion he had to proue how the
minds of men were affectionate towards him:
for euen in that daunger the Macedons be-
gan to diuine of his fortune, wherevnto after-
wards he ascended. They had no lesse care of
Ptholomeus, than of the king himselfe: who
vled him so familiarly, that when he was wea-
ried either with trauell or care of mind, would
sit for his solace with Ptholomeus: & at that
time caused his bed to be brought into his own
chamber. When Ptholomeus was laid there
he fell suddenly in a sound sleepe, in the which
it seemed that a dragon offered to him an herb
out of his mouth, for the healing of his wound,
and taking away of the venome. When he a-
waked, he declared his dreame, and shewed
both

both the colour and fashion of the hearb, affir-
ming that he could know it, if any man could
finde it out. That same was sought by so ma-
ny, that at length it was found, and being put
vpon the wound, the paine straightwaies cea-
sed, & the skar within short space was closed.
When the Indians were disappointed of the
hope they had conceined that way, they yel-
ded themselves and their Citie. From thence A-
lexander went into the next countrey called
Parthalia, the king whereof called Meris, left
the citie, and fled into the mountaines, so that
Alexander took the same, & destroyed all the
countrey, finding both a wonderfull pray of
sheepe, of cattel, and of cozne. Where he took
Pilates that knew the river, and came vnto an
Island which stood in the midst of the streame,
where he was compelled to remaine the lon-
ger, because the Pilates being negligently
kept, were escaped away. He sent therefore to
seek out other, but when he could finde none,
there entered a vehement desire into his heart
to visit without any guide the Ocean sea, and
the end of the world, committing his owne
life, and the liues of so many thousands, to a
River which none of them did know. They
sayled as men ignorant of all places they
came vnto, either how farre the Sea was di-
stant from them, what nations did inhabit the

countries therabout, or whether the mouth of the river were nauigable for gallies or no. In all these things they were ledde by a blind and doubtfull imagination, hauing no other comfort in their rash enterprise, but only that they trusted to their continual felicitie. When they had gone forwarde foure hundred furlongs, the shipmaisters tolde the king that they felt the ayre of the sea: wherby they knew the Ocean was at hand. Therat he reioyced greatly, and exhorted the mariners, that they would in all that they might, make way with their oares to bring him to the sight of the end of the world, which he had so long desired.

Now (quoth he) our glory is perfit, when our manhood is such that nothing can stay vs: Now the world is come into our hands without any further hazard of war or sheading of blood. Now since the bounds that nature hath wrought be so neare at hand, we shall shortly see things vnknowne sauing to the immortall Gods.

Yet notwithstanding he set certaine vpon land to take some of y country men, by whom he trusted to haue knowne moze certaintie of the truth. When they searched out their cottages, at length they found out certaine y were hidden, which being demanded how far y sea was from them, they made answer, that they neuer

neuer heard it named, but they said that within three daies sayling they should come vnto a place, whereas a blackish water did corrupt the fresh: by which words y mariners vnderstood y they meant the sea, of the nature wherof the people were ignorant. When the mariners rowed chearfully, their desire growing euer the greater, as they approached near vnto the place which they hoped to be the end of their trauell. The third day they came where the sea and the river ioyned together, mixing with a small flood their waters that were of a contrary nature. When because the tide was somewhat against them, they halled towards an other Iland standing in y midst of the river, which being an easie place to land at, the Macedons ran about to seeke victuals, in suretie (as they thought) being ignorant of the chance that came vpon them. The third houre according to the ordinarie course, the tide came from the sea, and with his force did drive the stream backward, which at the first being but staied, was afterwards so vehemently repulsed, that it caused the water to returne backward with greater furie than a swift streame is wont to run. The common sort that knew not the nature of the Ocean, thought the same to be a wonderfull matter, and that it had bene a token sent to them for the Gods wrath: & why-

lest they were in that imagination, the Sea swelling more and more, overflowed the land which they sawe before drie: and as the water rose the shippes mounted, and all the naue was disparked here and there. Such as were vpon land were amazed with the suddennes of the thing, & ran from all parts in great feare vnto their ships. But in a tumult haste dooth hurt, & giueth impediment. Some there were that went about to set their ships forward: other forbade rowing, & removed not at all. Otherwhiles they made hast away, and would not tary to take in their company, moored vnaptly, and could make no way. Some, when they sawe them presse a shipboard in such throngs, for feare of taking in too many, would receiue none at all: so that both multitude and small number was a let vnto the haste they made. The cry that some made in bidding mē tarry, and the noyse that other made willing them to goe forwards, with their voyces that differed, and agreed not in one effect, toke away the vse of both their sight and hearing. The Marriners could not helpe the matter, whose words in y^e tumult could not be heard, nor their commandements obserued among men in feare and out of order. The ships therefore dashed one against an other, the oars crashed asunder, and euery ship either thrust forward,

wards, or put backe an other. No man would haue iudged it to be one Nauy, but rather two sundrie fighting a battaile together vpon the Sea. The prores did strike against the pappes: such as went before troubled them that came after, and the words of men in their wrath came vnto stripes. By that time the flood had overflowed all the plaines thereabouts, so that nothing appeared aboue the water sauing the hilles, which seemed little Islands, wherevnto many did swim, & left their ships for feare. Whilist the nauy thus disparked abroad, partly stood afloat, when they happened in any balley, and partly stuck vpon the ground, if they did vpon the flattes, according to the ground which was overflowed, suddenly there came another terror greater than the first. For when the Sea began to ebbe, the water fell backe againe into his wonted course, with so great violence, as it came forwards and restored the sight of the land, which before was drowned as in a deepe Sea. The ships then forsaken of the water, fel vpon their sides, and the fields were strowne with broken boards, and with peeces of Dares. The souldiers durst not go forth to land, and yet were in doubt to tarry on shipboard, looking euer for some greater mischief to come, then that they sawe present or past.

THE FIRST BOOK
They could scarcely beleue that they salve
and suffered, which was shipwacke vpon the
land, and the sea within a riuer. And thought
no end could come of this mischiefe: for they
knew not that the flood should shortly returne
again, and set their ships afloat. And there-
fore they imagined to themselves famine and
all extremities. The monsters also of the
Sea, which after the water was past, were
left on drie land, put them in great feare. The
night approached, and dispaire brought the
king into a great agonie. Yet no care could so
ouercome his heart that was inuincible, but
that he watched all night, and sent horsemen
to the mouth of the Riuer, to bring him word
when the Tyde came. He caused two ships
that were broken to be amended, and such
as were overwhelmed, to be hoysed vp a-
gaine, warning all men to lye in waite and
be in readinesse against the water should a-
rise. When he had consumed all that night
in watching, and giving exhortation vnto his
men, straightwayes the horsemen retur-
ned a maine gallop, and the flood followed
them: which mildly encreasing, began to raise
again their ships, and when it had once ouer-
flowed the bankes, the whole party began to
moue. When all the coast rebounded with the
vnumeasurable reioycing that the Souldiers
and

OF QUINTUS CURTIUS. 277
and marriners made for their safegard, where-
of they were before in dispaire. When they
saw the danger past, they enquired with won-
der one of another, by what reason the Sea
could so soone after that maner ebbe and flow.
and debated the nature of that element, which
one while disagreed, and another while was
obedient and subiect to the time. The king
coniecturing by the signes he had seene before,
that after the Sunne rising the Tyde would
serue his purpose to prevent the matter, at
midnight with a fewe ships he flected downe
the strame, and passing out at the mouth of
the Riuer, entered foure hundred furlongs
into the Sea, where attaining the thing that
he desired, made sacrifice to the Goddes of
the Sea, which were worshipped in those
countrie, and returned againe vnto his na-
vie. From thence the next day hee returned
backwards against the streame, and arri-
ued at a salt lake, the nature whereof being
vnknowne, deceived many that rashly en-
tered into the water: for they bodies by and
by became full of scabs, which disease taken
by some, the contagion thereof infected many
other. But they found that oyle was a reme-
die for the same. Alexander lying still with
his Army, waiting for the spring time of the
yeare, sent Leonatus before by the land way
where

where he thought to passe, for to digge wells, because the countrey was very drie, and destitute of water. In the meane season he builded many cities, and commanded Nearchus and Onisicritus (that were most expert in nauall things) with his strongest Shippes to passe into the Ocean, and to goe so far forwarde as they might with suretie, for to vnderstand the nature of the Sea: and willed them at theyr returne to land either within that Riuier, or else within Euphrates. When the winter was well passed, he burned those ships which he occupied not, and conueyed his army by land. After 9. encampings, he came into the countrey of the Arabitans, and from thence in nine dayes came amongst the Gedrosians: which being a free nation, by a general counsaile had amongst them, yeelded themselves, of whom there was not any thing demaunded, sauing onely victuals. The 5. day he came into a Riuier which the countrey men call Barabon, beyond the which there lay a barren Countrey, greatly destitute of water, through the which he passed, and entred amongst the Horitans. There he betooke the greater part of his Army to Ephesion, and parted his Souldiers that were light armed with Ptholomeus and Leonatus, & so wasted the countrey with 3. armies at once, & took great prizes. Ptholomeus

meus turned towards the Sea, Leonatus on the other hand, and Alexander himselfe in the midst. In that Countrey he builded also a citie, and brought men out of Arrachosia to inhabit it. From thence he came amongst the Indians, which lying vpon the Sea coast do inhabit a great countrey that is waste and desart. They vse no traffike, entercourse, nor conuersation with any of their neighbours: but the desartnesse of theyr Countrey made them sauage, being wilde of theyr owne nature. They ware long nailes, which they neuer cut, and long haire that was neuer clipped. They made their houses of the shelles of fishes, and of other things that the Sea cast vp: and being clad with the skins of wilde beasts, ate fish dyed with the sunne, and fed vpon such monstrous fishes as the Sea cast vpon the land. Here the Macedons consumed their victuals, and first endured scarcitie, and afterwards extreame hunger, searching out in euery place the rotes of the Palmes, which is the onely tree that groweth in that countrey. But when that kind of nourishment failed them, they killed their carriage beasts, and abstained not from their horses: where by lacking beasts to beare their baggage they were enforced to consume with fire the spoiles of their enemies, which had caused

caused them to trauell into the uttermost bounds of the Orient. After their famine, followed a pestilence; for the vnaccustomed nourishment of the vnwholsome meates they did eat, with the trauaile of their iourney, and the care of minde, spread diseases amongst them, in such sort that they could neither continue in a place, nor yet goe forwards without great destruction. Hunger oppressed them when they tarried: and the pestilence was more vehement euer as they went forwards. The fields therefore were strowne full of men that were halfe dead, and halfe aliue. And such as were but smally sicke, were not able to follow the Army, it marched with such speed: For euery man thought to further so much his owne safegard, as by making haste hee could get before his fellows. Such as fainted and could not follow, desired both such as they knew and knew not, to helpe them forwards. But they had no beastes whereupon to set them: and the souldiers could scarcely beare their owne Armour, which had the imminent mischiefe that fell vpon other men, represented before their owne eyes. Wherefore, when they were called vpon, they would not vouchsafe once to looke backe, feare had so taken away all compassion from them. When they which were left behinde, cryed vpon

on the Gods and their King for helpe, alleging that they were all of one religion, which was a band for one to relieue an other. But when they had cryed long in vaine vnto their deafe eares, through desperation they raged, wishing the like end to their friends and companions, that they themselves endured. The King troubled both with sorrow and with shame, because hee and none else should be the cause of so great destruction of his men, did write to Prataphernes, ruler of the Parthians, to send to him vpon Camels, victuals in readines to be eaten, and certified the princes of the countries thereabout of his necessity, which did not slacke the time, but made provision according to his will. Thus his Army deliuered only from famine, was brought within the bounds of the Gedrosians: and for as much as the same was a countrey fertill of all things, he thought good to stay there a while with the rest to recover againe his feeble souldiers. Where he receiued Letters from Leonatus, how he had won the victorie of the Hoxitans, which encountred him with eight thousand footmen, & 5. hundred horsemen: and was aduertised also from Craterus, how hee had taken and put in holde Ozines and Zariaspes noble men of Perse, that went about to rebell. Alexander also vnderstanding that

Memnon was dead, gaue the charge of the countrey, wherof he had the rule, vnto Sibur-
 tius, and afterwards went into Carmania. As-
 pasies was gouernour of that nation, who
 being suspected of innouation, whiles Alex-
 ander was in India, met him on his way: but
 he dissimuling his yre, entertained him gent-
 ly, and did to him his accustomed honour, till
 such time as he had better pꝛoofe of the mat-
 ter, which was laid against him. When the
 Princes of India had according to his ap-
 pointment, sent out of all countries vnder his
 Empire great plentie of horse & other beasts,
 both of carriage and draught, he gaue carri-
 age againe to all men that wanted, and resto-
 red their Armour to the former beautifullnes,
 and excellencie. For they were come into a
 Countrey ioyning vpon Perse, which both
 was abundant of all things, and also quietly
 established vnder his subiection. He thought
 it then a time to counterfeite Bacchus in the
 gloꝛy and fame which he got amongst those
 nations. Whether it were a triumph that
 Bacchus first instituted, or a pastime of him
 vsed in drunkenness. Alexander was deter-
 mined to counterfeite his doings, hauing his
 minde puffed vp aboue mans estate. He com-
 manded therefore all the villages throughout
 the which he should passe, to be strowne with
 flow-
 ers

flowers and Garlands, and wine to be set
 forth before euery mans doore, for all men
 that would drinke. He caused wagons also to
 be made of largenes, able to carry great num-
 bers, and decking the same with precious fur-
 niments, the King went foremost with his
 friends, and next to them his guard, wearing
 vpon their heads garlands of flowers, some
 playing vpon flutes, and some vpon harpes:
 Euery one generally through the Army dec-
 ked his Chariot according to his abilitie and
 substance, wheras they giuen to banqueting,
 did hang their rich armour besides them. A-
 lexander with such as he called to his com-
 pany, was caried in a chariot laden with cups
 of gold, and other golden vessell: he with his
 drunken Army, marched thus 7. dayes toge-
 ther in ostentation of the pray they had got-
 ten: wherein they shewed such dissolutenesse,
 that if one of the subdued people durst
 during that time haue giuen them the onset,
 they might haue taken them prisoners, and
 led the away in triumph. But fortune which
 hath appointed both fame and estimation to
 things, turned all this disorder vnto his glo-
 rie. For both the age that was then, & the po-
 steritie that came after, marvelled and took it
 for a wonder, that he durst goe so dissolutely
 amongst those nations, not yet established vnder

der his Empire, the barbarous people reput-
 ing his rashnesse for an assured confidence.
 But shedding of blood ensued after this tri-
 umph. For prince Aspatis (spoken of before)
 was commaunded to be put to death: so that
 his excesse in voluptuousnesse was no let
 vnto his crueltie, nor crueltie impe-
 diment to his voluptu-
 ousnesse.

The



The tenth Booke of Quintus Curtius, of the acts of Alex- ander the great, King of Macedon.



About the same time,
 Cleander, Sitacles,
 Agathon, and He-
 racon, which by the
 Kings appoyntment
 had put Parmenio to
 death, returned to him,
 bringing with them 5000. footemen, & a thou-
 sand horsemen. There were many accusers
 that followed them out of the province, where
 of they had the gouernance: whose behaviour
 there was such, that the acceptable seruice
 they had done to Alexander in killing of Par-
 menio, could not be satisfaction for the mul-
 titude of the offences they had committed.
 They vied such an vniuersall spoyle, not ab-
 staining from the Temples, nor from sacred
 things. The virgins also & great ladies of the
 countrey, whom they had rauished, complain-
 ed of them, lamenting the shame they had
 sustained. They vied such couetousnesse and

inordinate lust in their authoritie, that it caused the name of the Macedons to be hated amongst those nations. And yet amongst all the rest, Cleanders offence was most horrible, which ravishing a virgin of noble blood, gave her to his slave to use as his concubine. The more part of Alexanders friends were not so much offended with their crueltie and foule acts (whereof they were accused) as with the remembrance of Parmenio his death, which they kept in silence, least the rehearsal thereof might have procured them favour with the king, rejoycing that the kings wrath was fallen upon the ministers of his yze, and that no power nor authoritie gotten by euill meanes, could haue any long continuance. Alexander hearing the cause, said that the accusers overslipt the greatest offence, which was the dispaire of his safeguard. For if they had either hoped or believed that he should euer haue returned out of India, they durst neuer (he said) haue committed any such offences. He commaunded them therfore to prison, and six hundred soldiers to death, that had bene the ministers of their crueltie: and they also were executed the same day, which Craterus had brought as authors of the rebellion, out of Persie. With in a while after, Nearchus and Onesicritus,

which

of Quintus Curtius. 282
which had bene commaunded by the king to search the Ocean sea, returning vnto him, declaring some things by knowledge, & some by report: they shewed him of an Island not far from the mouth of Indus, which aboundeth with gold, and had no breed of horses amongst them, wherfore the inhabitants would give a talent of gold for euery horse brought from the maine land. They also told of great monstrous fishes (whereof those seas were full) which caried down with the tide, would shew their bodies aboue y^e water as big as a great ship, & follow their nauy with a terrible noise. And when they dined underneath the water, they troubled the seas, as it had bene a shipwacke. These were things they had seene: the rest they had receiued by report of the inhabitants: as how that the red Sea took his name of King Erichrus, and not of the colour of the water. They shewed also of an other Island not far from the maine land, growing full of palme trees, where was a great Wood, and in the midst thereof stood a pillar, whereas king Erichrus was buried, with inscription of such letters as he vsed in the countrey.

They added besides, that such Mariners as carried the Merchants, and the drudges of the army, through couetousnesse of the Gold which had bene reported vnto them, landed

the Island, and were neuer scene after. Their
wordes moued Alexander much, and put him
in a great desire, to get moze certaine know-
ledge of those parties, and therefore he com-
maunded them againe to the Sea, willing
that they should coast the land, till they came
within the Riuer of Euphrates, & from thence
to come vp to Babylon against the streame.
The things were infinite that hee compassed
in his head, for hee determined after he had
brought the sea coast of the Orient vnder his
subiection, to go out of Syria into Africke,
for the enuy hee bare to the Carthagens: He
purposed from thence to passe ouer the desarts
of Numidia towards Gades, where hee vn-
derstood by the fame, that Hercules had
planted his pillars: and so directing his iour-
ney through Spaine (the which the Grekes
of the Riuer Iberus call Iberia) to go ouer the
Alpes, and so into Italy, till he should come to
the coast where the next passage was vnto E-
pyrus. For this intent he gaue commandement
to his officers in Mesopotamia, y they should
cut downe timber in y mount Libanus, & con-
uey the same to Caplagas, a citie in Siria. And
there to make gallies of such greatnesse, y eue-
ry one of them might be able to carry 7. oyes
vpon a bank, & from thence he willed them to
be conueyed vnto Babilō. He sent commande-
ment

of Quintus Curtius. 203
ment to the kings of Cypres, to furnish them
of Iron, hempe, & sailes. Whiles these things
were in doing, he receiued letters from Porus
and Taxiles, signifying that Abiazares was
dead of a disease, & that Philip his liestenant in
those parts was slain, & they put to death that
were the doers thereof. Alex. in the place of
Philip appointed Eudemon y was Captaine
of the Thracians, and gaue Abiazares king-
dome to his son. Fro thence he came to Pasar-
gades a countrie of the Persians, wherof Or-
sines was Lord: which in nobilitie & riches ex-
ceeded al other men in those parts, as one that
fetch his pedigree fro Cyrus, y once was k. of
Persie. The riches his predecessors left him,
was great: and he by a long continuance in
his inheritance and authoritie, had much en-
creased the same. He met Alexander com-
ming thitherwards, and presented both him
and his friends with gifts of sundrie sorts,
which were a multitude of hoxles, readie to
be ridden vpon, chariots wrought with golde
and silver, precious stufte, excellent pearles
and precious stones, waightie vessels of gold,
roabes of purple, and 4000. talents of coy-
ned silver: but that his liberalitie was occa-
sion of his death. For when he had presented
all the Kings friends with gifts aboue their
desire, he honoured not with any gifts at all

Bagoas the Eunuch, whom Alexander specially fauored for y^e vantage he had of him. There were therfore that gaue him admonition how much Alexander esteemed Bagoas, but he answered them;

That his custome was to honor the kings friends, and no harlots: nor that it was not the Persians maner to haue any in estimation, which did effeminate themselves with so shamefull an abuse.

When his words were reported to the Eunuch, he vsed the power which he had gotten with dishonest means, to y^e destruction of that noble & innocent mā: for he did subornate certayne lewd persons of Orsines coutry, to bring in false accusations against him, which he willed them to present at such time as he should appoint vnto them. In the mean seasō, when soeuer Bagoas got the k. alone, he would fill his credulous eares with tales against Orsines, euer dissembling y^e cause of his displeasure, least thereby he might lose the credit of his false report. The King had not Orsines yet in suspect of such matter as afterwardes was laid against him; but he began to grow with him out of estimation. His accusation was euer so secret, y^e he could neuer get knowledge of the perill that was priuily wrought against him. That importunate harlot in his vile conuersation

uerlation had with the King, was mindfull seruier of the malice he bare to Orsines, whom he would not cease to bring in suspicion of couetousnesse, or of rebellion, so oft as he sawe Alexander bent to vse him familiarly. By that time the false accusations were in readines, which he had prepared to the destruction of the innocent, whose fatall destiny that did approach could not be auoyded. It chanced that Alexander caused the tombe wherein Cyrus body was buried, to be opened, pretending to vse certain ceremonies for the dead: but thinking in very deed that his tombe had bin full of gold and siluer, wherof there was a constant fame amongst y^e Persians. But when it was viewed, there was nothing found, but a rotten target, two Scythian bowes, & a sword. Alexander caused the coffin wherein Cyrus body was laid to be couered with the garment he accustomed to weare, and set therebpon a crowne of gold, maruelling y^e there was no more sumptuousnes vsed in burial of such a king, endued with so great riches, lying there but after the common sort of men. When this thing was in doing, Bagoas stood next vnto Alexander, who beheld him in the face, and said:

What maruell is it though the sepulchres of Kings be emprie, when Lords houses be not able to hold the gold that they haue

taken out from thence: For my part I neuer saw this tombe before: but I haue heard *Darius* report, that there were three thousand talents buried with *Cirus*. Thereof (qd. he) proceeded *Orsines* liberalitie in winning your fauour by the gift of the thing which he knew he could not keepe.

When he had thus styred vp Alexanders wrath against *Orsines*, he presented the, who he had suborned to accuse him: by whose report, & by *Bagoas* furnished tales, Alex. was so incensed against *Orsines*, that hee was put in prison before hee could suspect that hee was accused. The Eunuch was not contented with the destruction of this innocent man, but at his death laid violent hands vpon him: Unto whom *Orsines* said: I haue heard that women in times past haue reigned, and borne great rule in Asia, but is now a moze strange thing, that a gelding should haue the Empire in his hands. This was the end of the most noble man amongst the Persians, who was not onely an innocent in this matter, but such a one as bare singular affection vnto Alexander, and had shewed great liberalitie to him and his. At the same time *Phradates*, which was suspected to haue gone about to make himselfe King, was put to death. Alexander began then to be much enclined to the shea-
ding

ding of bloud, and to be credulous in hearing of euill report: prosperitie is of such a force to change a mans nature, wherein few men haue consideration of vertue. Thus he which a little before would not condemne Lincestes Alexander, when hee was accused by two witnesses, that suffered diuers of moze meane estate to bee acquitted, though it grudged his minde, because they seemed not guiltie to other men: and he which bestowed kingdomes vpon his enemies, whom he had subdued, was in the end so much altered from his former inclination, that against his owne appetite, at the will of an harlot, he would giue kingdomes to some, and take away the liues from other. About the same time hee receiued Letters of things done in Europe, whereby hee vnderstood that whiles he was in India, *Zopirius* his Lieutenant in Thrace, made a iourney against the Getae, where by storms and tempests that suddenly rose vpon him, he was destroyed, & all his Army. When *Seuthesodrias* vnderstood the defeate of that Army, hee procured the Doxians that were his country men to reuolt, so that all Thrace was in manner lost thereby, and Greece stood in no great suretie. The writers of the acts of great Alexander, make mention in this place of *Calanus* an Indian, that was very famous in
Philos

Philosophie, which by the perswasion of King Taxiles, followed Alexander, and ended his life after a strange sort: whē he had liued thre score and 13. yeares without any disease, at his comming into Persia, he felt a paine in his belly, wherby coniecturing that the end of his life was come, least such a perpetuall felicitie as he had liued in, should be spotted with any long disease, or tormented with the multitude of medicines which phisitions vse to minister, required Alexander that hee might cause a fire to be made, and to burne himselfe in the same. The King began to dissuade him from his purpose, thinking to haue brought him frō the doing of so horrible an act: but when hee perceiued with what stedfastnes & constancie he stood in his intent, & that there was no way to keep him any longer in life, he suffered a fire to be made according to his will: whereinto Calanus did ride on horsebacke, making first his prayer to the Gods of his Countrey: and taking the Macedons by the hands, required them that they would spend that day pleasantly in banqueting with their king, whom with in a while he should see at Babylon. When he had spoken those words, he went merily into the fire, wheras plying his body comely, kept still the same gesture and countenance at his death which he was wont to vse. When the fire

fire flamed the trumpets blew, & men of war making such a shoute as they accustomed going to the battaile, which rebounded vp to the skie, and the Elephants also made a terrible noise. These be the things that large writers do testifie of Calanus, which was a notable example of an invincible minde, constantly bent to suffer aduersitie. From thence Alexander went vnto Susa, wheras he tooke to wife, and lawfully married Statira, Darius eldest daughter: whose youngest sister called Dripetis, he gave to wife vnto Ephestion: and bestowed to the number of foure score Virgins of the noblest of all the Nations hee had conquered, to & principall Macedons, and to the chiefe of his friends, because he would not same alone to begin so strange a custome. These marriages were celebrated after the Persian manner, and a princely feast prepared at the espousals: whereat there were 60. M. guests, to euery one of whom, Alexander gave a drinking cup of gold. At the same time the rulers of the Citties which Alexander had subdued and builded, sent vnto him 30. thousand young souldiers that were all of one age, furnished with faire Armour, apt to doe any enterprize of the war, which he called Epigony: that is to say his successors. The Macedons at their comming seemed to be somewhat

What appalled, which wearied with long war, used often in assemblies to murmur & speake mutinuous words against the King. For that cause hee had prepared these Souldiers to restrain the arrogancy of other, & gaue to them great benefites. Harpalus, to whom the King had committed the charge of the treasure, and reuenues at Babylon, hearing of the acts that Alexander had done in subduing the more part of the kings of India, & his successe to be so prosperous, that nothing could withstand him, knowing the insatiable desire that was in Alexander to visit far countries, and to increase his glorie, thought it should be a hard matter for him to returne to Babylon againe. Wherefore he gaue himselfe to delight and to lust, misusing many that were noble and free women, and wallowed in all kinde of voluptuousnes: In so much that he sent vnto Athens for a famous harlot, called Poro-nice, to whom he both gatte many great and princely gifts whiles she was alive, and also after her death spent 30. Talents vpon her Tombe. Having in these and such other like voluptuous vanities consumed a great part of the treasure, when hee vnderstood Alexander to be come out of India, and to vse extreme iustice vpon his officers, that misused them of whom they had rule (by reason hee

was

was priue to his soule conscience) hee feared the like might come to himselfe: and therefore gathering together 5000. talents, and 6000. mercenarie souldiers, took the way towards Athens, no man willing to receiue him by the way. When he came to Tenaron (whereas a great number of the mercenarie Greekes, which had bene discharged out of Asia were assembled) hee left his Souldiers there, and went to Athens with his money: when he was come thither, great number of the citizens flocked about him, more for loue of his money, then for his owne sake: but specially the Orators, & such as used to make their game by orations, & perswading of the people: whom by small rewards hee easily corrupted to defend his cause with the people. But afterwards at a generall assembly vpon the matter, he was commaunded to depart the Citie, and so returned againe amongst the Greeke souldiers, by whom he was slaine. Wherefore with thirty ships they passed over to Sunium, which is a point of the land in the territorie of Athens, from whence they determined to haue entred into Athens haue. These things being thus known, Alexander that was sore moued as well against the Athenians, as against Harpalus, prepared a navy to make war in person immediatly against them. And

as

THE TENTH BOOK
as he was busied about the matter, he vnder-
stood by secret Letters, how both Harpalus
had bene in Athens, and corrupted with mo-
ney the chiefe of the Citie: and also how that
afterwardes by a councell of the people, hee
was commanded to depart from thence, who
returning amongst the Greeke souldiers, was
slaine by one of them by treason. These newes
greatly reioyced Alexander, whereby he had
occasion to leaue off his iourney into Europe:
but he sent commandement to all the cities of
Greece, that they should receiue all theyr ba-
nished men, except such onely as had commit-
ted any murther vpon their owne country-
men. Although the Grækes knew the same to
be the breach of theyr liberties, and of theyr
lawes, and the beginning of theyr bondage:
yet as men that durst not disobey his wil, they
called home their banished men, and restozed
to them suche of theyr goods as did remaine.
Only the Athenians which euer defended ob-
stinatly the liberties of their common wealth,
and which had not bene accustomed to liue
vnder y obedience of any king, but vnder the
lawes and customes of theyr country, would
not agree, that suche dredge of men shoulde
liue amongst them, but did drine them out of
their bounds, ready to suffer any thing rather
than to receiue such, as sometime were the
rascall

rascall of all their Citie, and then the refuse of
all the Outlawes. The time was come that
Alexander minded to dismisse his olde soul-
diers and sent them into their country: but he
willed first 13000. footmen, & 2000. horsemen
to be chosen out to remaine still in Asia, which
hee iudged might be kept with a small Army,
because he thought the garisons he had plan-
ted in many places, and the Cities which hee
had newly builded and filled with inhabifers,
should be able to stay such as would attempt
any rebellion. But befoze he would make any
diuision of such as shoulde depart and remain,
hee caused a proclamation to be made, that all
souldiers shoulde declare their debts (where-
with hee perceiued many of them soze burde-
ned) and though it did rise through theyr
own disoord and excesse, yet he was determi-
ned to discharge euery man. But the souldiers
thinking it had bene but a deuise, to trie out
the prodigal from the rest, delayed y time, and
brought not in their declarations. The King
perceiued shame to be the let therof, & no diso-
bedience or selfe will: And therefore caused
tables to be set vp through his camp, & 1000.
talents to be brought forth: Of all which trea-
sure when their debts were payed, according
to the iust declaration, there remained of ta-
lents no moze but 130. Whereby it appeared
that

that they which were y^e conquerors of so many rich nations, brought out of Asia more glory then spoile. But after it was once known that some should be dispatched, and some remaine still, they thought the king would haue established his kingdome perpetually in Asia. Wherefore like mad men, and vnmindfull of all discipline of warre, they filled the campe full of seditious words, and came to the king more arrogantly, & with greater rigour, then euer they did before, all with one voyce requiring to be discharged, shewing forth the hoarinesse of their haire, and their faces deformed with scars. And herein they could not be stayed, either by chastisement of their officers, or by any reuerence of their king: but when hee would haue spoken vnto them, they would not suffer him to bee heard, but disturbed his tale with their tumultuous crye, and violent throng: protesting openly y^e they would neuer moue one foote forwards to any place, except it were towards their owne countrey. After a great space (because they thought that Alexander would encline to their purpose) they kept silence, & stood in expectation what he would doe. When Alexander spake thus to them:

What meaneth this sudden trouble of minde, this so malepert & vnlawful liberty?
I am

of Quintus Curtius. 209
I am afraid to speake vnto you: you haue so manifestly broken your obedience towards me. I am now become a king at the appointment of my people: you haue neyther left me the libertie to know you, to exhort you, nor to behold you. Beeing determined to send some into theyr country before, and to bring the rest with mee shortly after: I see them as well that shall be now dispatched, crying and mutining, as those that I appoint to come with mee. What a matter is this? Their cry is all alike, notwithstanding that their cause is diuers. I would faine knowe whether they complaine that depart, or they that tarry still?

When he had spoken those words, they cryed all (as it had bene with one mouth) that they complained every man. When he said:

Truly it cannot be so, nor I cannot be perswaded that you should all be greued for the cause ye declare, seeing the case toucheth not the most part of you: for I haue appointed more to depart, then to remaine still. There must needs be some greater mischiefe then appeareth, that you should turn you all from me. When was it euer seen, that an whole army hath forsake their king? The slaues run not from their masters all at once: but there is alwaies a shame in some to leaue

them, whom the rest forsakes. But why do I forget that you be mad in your mindes? or why goe I about to cure you that bee vncurable? I condemne from henceforth all the good hope that euer I cōceiued of you, and am determined to worke no more with you, as with my souldiers (seeing you wil not be mine) but with men vngratefull & vnmindfull of my goodnes. The cause of this your madnes, is euē the abundance of your prosperitie, whereby you forget your old estate, from the which ye be deliuered through my benefit. You are men worthy to haue spent your liues in your former beggery, seeing you can better beare aduersitie, then prosperous fortune. Behold, you which a while ago were tributaries to the Illyrians & the Persians, do now disdain *Asia*, and the spoiles of so many nations. You, which vnder *Philip* went halfe naked, now ye contemne robes of purple. Your eyes cannot endure any longer to beholde the light of golde and silver. You desire again your wodden dishes, your tarkets made of wickers, and your swordes couered with rust: I receiued you in this simple estate, with fīue hundred talents in debt, when all my furniments exceeded not in value fortie talents. This was my foundation of my acts, wherwith (without enuie be it

it spokē) I haue subdued the greatest part of the world. Are you weary of *Asia*, which hath ministred vnto you occasion of such glorie, that by y greatnes of your acts, ye be made equall vnto the Gods? do you all make such hast into *Europe*, to forsake me that am your King? The more part of you should haue lacked mony to bear you home, if I had not paid your debts. Are you not ashamed, that haue robbed all *Asia*, to beare the spoiles of so many Nations within your bellies, and now to retorne home to your wiues & children, vnto whom there be but fewe of you that are able to shewe any rewards of your victorie? For many of you shall be compelled to gage your armour, if ye forsake this good hope, wee might receiue at my hand. These be the good men of warre that I shall want, which of all their riches haue nothing left them, but only their concubines. The way lieth open for your departure: get you hēce quickly out of my sight. I with the Persians shall defend your backs whē ye be gon. I wil hold none of you: deliuer mine eyes ye vngrateful cōntrymen, of the sight I see of you. Shall your parēts & childrē receiue you with ioy, whē they shall see you return without your king? Shall they couet to meet such as be fugitiues, & forsakers of their Prince?

truly shall triumph vpon your departure:
and wheresoeuer you shall be, I shall desire
to be reuenged, honouring alwayes, and
preferring before you, those which ye haue
left here with me. Now you shall know of
what force an army is that lacketh a King,
and what moment doth consist in me alone.

When he had spoken those words, he leaped
in a fury from the iudgement seat, and ranne
into the throng of the armed men: wheras he
tooke with his owne hands such as had mu-
tined most against him. Of whom there being
none that durst make resistance, he deliuered
13. to his guard for to be safely kept. Who
would thinke that an assembly which a litle
before had spoken vnto their prince with such
fiercenes and rigour, could haue bene so sud-
dainly appalled for feare? Who seeing they
companions led to execution, durst not moue
nor make attempt. But the inordinate liberty
they vsed before, their seditious violence, was
then so stated, that neuer one of them durst re-
sist the king running amongst them, but were
all astonied for feare, and stood like men ama-
zed with doubtfull imaginations, looking
what hee would determine of the offenders.
Whether it were the reuerence they bare to
his name, because the nations that liue vnder
Kings, are wont to honour them as Gods: or
were

were it the maiestie of his person, or else his
owne assured constancie, executing his autho-
ritie with such violence, that put them in fear:
they shewed a notable ensample of patience.
For they remained not only without stirre or
motion at the execution of their companions,
whom they knew to be put to death in 5 night
time, but also were more diligent in doing their
duties than euer they were before, pretermi-
ting nothing pertaining to obedience, and na-
turall affection towards their Prince. For the
next day when they came to court, and were
not suffered to enter, but all shut out sauing the
souldiers of Asia, they made a sorrowfull cry
and lamentation which spread ouer all the camp,
protesting that they would not liue, if the king
continued still in his wrath. But he that was
obstinate in all things that he had once concei-
ued in his head, commanded all the Macedons
to keepe still their camps, and assembled the
souldiers strangers together, to whom by an
Interpreter he made this Oracion.

At such time as I came first out of Europe
into Asia, my trust was to bring many noble
nations & great power of men, vnder mine
Empire and dominion: wherein I was not
deceiued. For besides that the same reported
you to be men of valure, I haue founde in
you one thing more: which is an incompa-

The tenth booke

rable obedience, fidelitie, and affection towards your prince. I thought voluptuouſnes had ouerflowne all vertue amongſt you, and that through your great felicicite, yee had bene drowned in pleasures. But I find otherwise, and perceiue that none obſerue the diſcipline order of the warres, better than you do, nor execute the ſame with more actiuitie nor ſtoutnes: and being manfull and valiant men, ye imbrace fidelitie no leſſe than you doo the reſt. This thing I doo but now acknowledge, but I knew it long agoe: which was the cauſe that I choſe you out of the youth of nations, to be my ſouldiers, & did incorporate you amongſt mine owne people, cauſing you to weare the ſame habit, and the ſame armor: But your obedience & patience towards the authoritie, appeareth much better in you then them. Therefore I haue ioyned to my ſelfe in marriage, the daughter of *Oxatres* that is a Perſian: not diſdaining to beget children vpon a captiue. And afterwardeſ deſiring abundantly to increaſe the iſſue of my body, I tooke to wife the daughter of *Darius*, and was the author that my neare friends likewiſe ſhould beget children vpon captiues: minding by this holy couenaunt to exclude the difference betweene the victorers and the vanquiſhed.

Where-

Wherefore you muſt now thinke that you be not ſouldiers vnto me adopted, but more naturall: and that *Aſia* and *Europe* is one kingdom without any difference. I haue giuen to you armour after the manner of the Macedons. I haue brought all ſtraungeneſſe and noueltie into a cuſtome: and now yee be both my countrymen and my ſouldiers, all things receiuing one forme and faſhion. I haue not thought it vniſeemly for the Perſians, to ſhadow the cuſtomes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfaite the Perſians: ſeeing they ought to be vnder one lawe and cuſtome, that ſhould liue vnder one King.

When he had made this Oration, he committed the cuſtodie of his perſon vnto the Perſians: he made them of his guard, and his officers of iuſtice. By whom when the Macedons, which had given occaſion of this ſedition were led bound vnto execution, one of them that was moze auncient and of greater eſtimation then the reſt, ſpake after this maner.

How long will you giue place vnto your will, in executing vs after the ſtrangers manner? Your ſouldiers & countrymen be drawen to execution by their owne priſoners, before their cauſes is heard. If you haue indulged vs worthy of death, at leaſt way change the miniſters of your wrath.

This

This was a good admonishment if he had beene patient to heare the truth; But his wrath was growne into a woodnes: so that when he saw them which had the charge of the prisoners stay a little at the matter, he caused the prisoners to be tumbled into the River, & there drowned. Notwithstanding the cruelty of this punishment, the souldiers were not stirred to any sedition, but repaired by routes unto theyr Captaines, and unto such as were neare about the King: requiring that if there yet remained any infected with the same offence, that he should command them to be put to death, proffering theyr bodies to be punished and executed at his owne will: After it was knowne that the Lieutenant his shippes were given unto the Persians, and that they were distributed into diuers orders with such names given unto them as were unto the Macedonis, and that they were reiected with reproach, they could not then any longer containe themselves, nor suffer the dolour they had conceived in theyr hearts, but with a great throng pressed to the Court, wearing only theyr nethermost garments, and leaving theyr weapons without the gate in token of repentance: There with weeping, and all tokens of humilitie, they made request to be admitted to the Kings presence, & that he would vouch

for his sake to pardon their offence: pacifying his wrath with the death of so many as he should thinke good, rather then to suffer them to live in such reproach: which except he would release, they protested they would never depart out of the place. When those things were declared unto Alexander, he caused the court gates to be opened, and came forth amongst them, whereas beholding their lamentation and repentance, their miserable behaviour and affliction, he could not abstaine to weepe long time with them: & in consideration of their modesty, forgave them their former offences, and after he had temperately told them their faults, and againe comforted them with gentle words, he discharged many from the service of the wars, & sent them home liberally rewarded, writing to Antipater his Lieutenant in Macedon, that he should assigne them the chiefe places in the theatres, at triumphs, and open playes, whereas they should sit with garlands on their heads, willing that their children after their deaths, should enjoy their fathers wages. He appointed Craterus for their ruler, to whom in y^e place of Antipater he had committed the gouernment of Macedon, Thessaly, & Thrace: sending for Antipater to repaire unto him with a supply of young souldiers. Alexander had receiued Letters befoze both from him,

him, & Olympias his mother: whereby dissension appeared to be betwixt them. For his mother accused Antipater, that he went about to make himselfe King. And Antipater did write, how Olympias did many things otherwise than did become her. Antipater did take his calling away so grievously in his heart, that he conspired thereupon to poison Alexander: who hauing accomplished y^e matter that before he mentioned, went to Echatan (being in Media) to set order in the necessary affairs of his Empire, and there ordained solemn triumphes and feasting. It chanced Ephestion whom the king specially loved, and vsed in place of a brother, to die the same time of a feuer. Whose death Alexander toke more sorrowfully, than may well be credited, committing in his dolour many things that were vnseeming for the maiestie of a Prince. He commanded Ephestions Physition to be hanged, as though he had died through his negligence. He lay embracing of the dead body, and could hardly be taken away by his friends, but continued his sorrow night and day.

There be many other things written in that behalfe, which be scarcely credible. But it is certaine that hee commaunded sacrifice to me made vnto him as vnto a God, and consumed in his buriall and in making of his tombe,

tombe, aboue twelue thousand Talents. As he was returning to Babylon, the Caldean Prophets met him on the way, exhorting him that he should not enter into the Cittie, for that it was signified, that if he went thither at that time, hee should be in great perill of his life. Notwithstanding he regarded not their admonishments, but went forwards in his journey, according as he appointed. For he understood that Embassadors were come thither from all regions, carrying for his coming. The terrour of his name was so spread through the world, that all nations shewed an obsequiousness towards him, as though hee had bin appointed to be their King. That caused him to make haste to Babylon, to keepe there as it were a Parliament of the whole world. When he was come thither, hee receiued the Embassadors gently, and afterwards dispatched them home againe. There was about the same time a banquet prepared at one Thestalus Medius house, wherunto the king being bidden, came thither with such as were appointed to keepe him company: But he had not so soone drunke of Hircules cup, but that he gaue a grunt as though he had bin stricken to the heart. And being carried out of the feast halfe dead, was so tormented with paine, that he required a sword to haue killed himselfe.

His friends did publish abroad, drunkennesse to be the cause of his disease: but in very deed it was premeditated treason, the infamy wherof, the power of his successors did oppress. The person prepared long before, was deliuered by Antipater vnto Cassander his son, which with his brethren Phillip and Iolla, were wont to serue the King at meate: hee was warned that he should not commit the same poison to any person except it were to Thelalus or to his brethren. Phillip therefore and Iollas, which were wont to take the say of the kings cup, having the poison ready in cold water, mixed it with wine after they had tasted it. When the fourth day was come, the souldiers partly for that they suspected hee had bene dead, and partly because they could not endure to want long his sight, came sorrowfully vnto the Court, desiring to see the King, which by his commandement were admitted vnto his presence, by such as had the charge of his person. When they beheld him lying in that case, they made great sorrow and lamentation: for he seemed not to them to be the same their King, whom they were wont to see, but rather a dead corps. If their griefe were great, the sorrow of them that stood next to the bed appeared much more, whom when Alexander beheld lamenting after that sort,

so, he said vnto them:

When I shall depart, you shall find a king worthy for such men as you be.

It is a thing incredible, how that during the time the souldiers of his whole Army came to visit him: he neuer altered countenance nor gesture, but continued in that kinde of presence, he gaue vnto the first, vnto the last man. When hee had dismissed the multitude, as though hee had bene discharged of all debt of life, he lay downe againe to rest his weake body: and his voyce beginning to faile him, commanded his friends to come neare about him. When taking his ring from his finger, deliuered it to Perdicas, and gave therewith a commandment that his body should be conveyed to Hammon. They demaunded whom he would leaue his kingdome: He said: to the worthiest. By which words it appeared that he foresaw the contention that was like to ensue vpon his death. Perdicas moreover demaunded of him, when he would haue diuine honours done vnto him: At such time (quoth he) as you shall finde yourselves in felicitie. These were the last words Alexander spake, and shortly after he dyed. Immediately after his death, the Court was full of howling, lamenting, and sorrow making: and by and by, as it had bene in a desert, or a place

place solitary, all things were whist, and a sorrowfull silence was spread ouer all; euerie man being conuerſed into imagination, what ſhould become of the matter. The yong men of the nobilitie, that were accuſtomed about Alexanders perſon, could not beare the greatnes of their dolour, nor keep themſelues within compaſſe of the court, but ran about as men out of their wits, whereby the cittie was filled with heauines and complaint, and no kind of lamentation pretermitted, that ſorrow is wont to miniſter in ſuch a caſe. Such therefore as were without the court, vnderſtanding this matter, as well Macedons as other, came running thither, whereas the conquerors from the conquered, nor the victors from the vanquiſhed could not be diſcerned: the ſorrow was ſo indifferent to them all. The Perſians called vpon their iuſt and mercifull Lord, and the Macedons made inuocation to him that was ſo valiant and gracious a king: and thus there was a certaine contention of ſorrow amongſt the. Men did not vſe their only words of grieſe & heauineſſe, but alſo of grudge and indignation, that ſo yong a prince, being in the flower of his age, and of his fortunate ſucceſſe, ſhould by the enuy of the goddeſſe bee ſo taken out of this world. They called to remembrance what a chearefulneſſe they had alwayes ſene in

in his countenance, both when he led them to the battell, when he beſieged or assaulted any citie, or when he would giue any commendation to the worthy in any aſſembly. When the Macedons repented that euer they had denied him diuine honours, confeſſing themſelues both wicked and vngratefull for depriuing him of any name wherof he was worthy. And when they had continued long in the veneration and deſire of him that was dead, then they began to pittie their owne caſe, which coming out of Macedonia, were paſt the riuer of Euphrates, amongſt the moſt of their enemies, that vniwillingly receiued their new gouernment. They ſaw themſelues left deſtitute, and the Empire without any certaine heire: for want of whom, euerie one would goe about to draw the power of the ſtate vnto his private behoofe. And then they began to conceiue and foreſee in their mindes the ciuill warres that did enſue, and that they ſhould be enforced to ſhead their bloud againe, not for the conqueſt of Aſia, but for the title of ſome ſuch one as would goe about to make himſelfe king: whereby their olde ſcarres ſhould breake out againe into new wounds. And moreover that ſuch as by reaſon of their age hadde bene diſcharged from the warres by their noble and righteous king, ſhould now be

be enforced to spend their liues in the quarell
of some such one as was but his Souldier.
Whiles they were in these imaginations, the
night came on, and encreased their terrour.
The men of warre watched in harneys, and
the Babilonians looked ouer the walles, pee-
ping out from the tops of their houses, to spee
some certaintie how the matter went. There
was none that durst kinde any light: and be-
cause the vse of the eye did faile, they laid their
eares to heare the rumours and words that
were spoken: many times they were a-
fraid when no cause was: and when they
met together in the narrow strates, or darke
lanes, they would be amazed, and suspect each
other as enemies. The Persians after their
accustomed manner, clipped theyr haire, and
with their wiues and children lamented the
death of Alexander in mourning garments
with unfained affection: not as a conqueror,
and one that lately had bene theyr enemy,
but as their right, wise, and naturall King.
For they being accustomed to liue vnder a
King, could thinke no man more worthy then
he, to rule ouer them. This sorrow was not
contained within the walles of the Citie, but
straightwayes spread ouer all the countrey
thereabouts. And the same of so great a mis-
chiefe flying throughout Asia, brought some
tidings

tidings thereof vnto Darius mother. She at
the first report tare asunder the garment she
ware, & put on mourning apparell, she pulled
her haire, and fell downe groueling vpon the
earth. One of her neeces sat by her, mourning
the death of Ephestion whom she had married,
and in an vniuersall heauinesse bewailed
the cause of her priuate sorrow. But Sygambis
alone sustained all their miseries, & bewail-
ed both her own case and her neeces, her fresh
sorrow causing her to call to mind things past.
A man would haue iudged by her behauiour
that Darius had bin wholly slaine, and that she
had celebrated the funerals of both her sonnes
together. She did not onely lament the dead,
but sorrowed also for the liuing.

Who shall now (quod she) take care of these
young women? or who can be like vnto *Alexander*?
now we be taken prisoners again: we be newly
fallen from our dignitie and estate. After *Darius*
death we found one to defend vs. But now since
Alexander is gone, who will haue respect of vs?

Among these things, she called to minde
how Occhus the cruell king hadde slaine her
father, and foure score of her brethren in one
day, and that of six children borne of her body,
there was but one of them left alieue. She saw
that fortune had aduanced Darius, and cau-

sed him to flourish for a time, to the intent he might end his life by greater crueltie. Finally shee was so overcome with sorrow, that she couered her head, turning her selfe from her neece and nephew that sat at her feet, and abstaining both from meate, and from beholding of the light, ended her life the fift day after she was determined to dye. This her death was a great argument of the clemencie Alexander had shewed towards her, and of the iustice towards all the captiues: seeing that after Darius death she could abide to liue, but after Alexanders departure, she was ashamed to continue any longer. Considering Alexander righteously, we must impute all his vertues to his owne nature, and his vices eyther to his youth, or to the greatnesse of his fortune. There was in him an incredible force of courage, and an exceeding sufferance of travel. He was endued with manhood, exceeding not onely amongst kings, but also amongst such as had no other vertue nor qualitie. He was of such liberalitie, that oftentimes he gaue greater things, then the receiuers could haue wished for of God. The multitude of kingdomes that he gaue in gift, and restored to such from whom he had taken them by force, was a token of his clemencie towards them that he subdued. He shewed

shewed a perpetual contempt of death, & feare whereof both amaze other men. And as there was in him a greater desire of glory & worldly praise then reason would beare, so was it tolerable in so yong a man, enterprising so great and notable acts. The reuerence and affection he bare towards his parents, appeared in the purpose he had to consecrate his mother Olympias to immortalitie, and in that hee so sore reuenged Phillips death. How gentle and familiar was he towards his friends: and how beneuolent toward his souldiers: he had a wisdome equall to the greatnes of his heart, and such a policie & forecast, as so yong yeares were scarcely able to receiue. A measure hee had in immoderate pleasures, and lusted lesse then nature desired, using no pleasure, but that was lawful: these were wonderful great gifts and vertues. But in that he compared himselfe to the goddes, courting diuine honours, & believing the Oracles that perswaded such things, that hee was offended with them that would not worship him, and giuen more vehemently to wrath then was expedient, that hee altered his habite and apparell into the fashion of straunger, and counterfeited the custome of them he had subdued, and despised before his victorie: these were vices to be attributed to the greatnes of fortune. As

the heate of youth stirred vnto anger, and to the desire of drinking: so age might haue mitigated againe those faults. Notwithstanding it must needs be confessed, that though hee preuailed much by his vertue, yet ought he to impute moze vnto his fortune, which onely of all mortall men he hadde in his owne power. How often did shee deliuer him from the point of death? How often did shee defende him with perpetuall felicitie, when hee hadde rashly brought himselfe in perill? And when shee pointed an end to his glory, shee euen then was content to finish his life, staying his fatall destinie till hee had subdued the Orient, visited the Ocean Sea, and fulfilled all that mans mortalitie was able to performe. No this so great a King, and so noble a conquerour, a successour was looked for. But the matter was of ouer-great impossance for any one man to take vpon him. Alexanders name and renowne was so great amongst all Nations, and they were counted most noble, that might be partakers (though it were neuer so little) of his prosperous fortune. But to returne againe to Babylon, from whence the digression hath bene made: They which had the guard and custodie of Alexanders person, called into the Court such as had bene his chiefe friends and Cap-
taines

taines of the men of Warre: after whom there followed a great multitude of Souldiers, desiring to know who should be successour vnto Alexander. The throng of the Souldiers was such, that many of the Captaines were excluded, and could not enter into the Court. A proclamation therefore was made, whereby all men were forbidden to enter, except such as were called by name. But because their commandement seemed to want authoritie, it was little regarded: and the multitude at the first began to make a grieuous sorrow & lamentation. But immediately by desire they had to vnderstand the successe of the matter, stopped the lamentation, and made silence. When Perdicas brought forth in sight of all the people, the Kings Chaire of estate, wherein Alexanders Diadem, his bestee regall, and his Armour was laid: amongst the which ornaments, Perdicas also laid downe the Kings signet, deliuered to him the day before, at the sight wherof they began to weepe, and to renew againe their sorrow. Then said Perdicas:

Loe here is the Ring wherewith hee was wont to seale such things as pertained to the gouernment of his Empire, which as he deliuered to me, I so restore it againe to you. And although no aduersitie can be

devised by the Goddes (were they neuer so much offended) comparable to this, yet considering the greatnesse of the acts which he hath done, we must thinke that as the Gods sent such a man, so to raigne in the world (his time being expired that was appointed) they haue called him againe to the place from whence he came. For as much therefore as none other thing remaineth of him amongst vs, but onely that which is alwaies wont to be remoued from immortalitie, let vs performe the due pertaining both to his body, and to his name, remembering in what Citie we be, amongst what kind of people, & what a king and gouernor we haue lost. We must debate and deuise how to maintain our conquest amongst them of whom it is gotten: for the doing wherof, it is needfull for vs to haue an head. But whether the same shall be one or many, if doth consist in you. You are not ignorant that a multitude of men of war without an head, is a body without life. Six moneths be now passed, since *Roxane* was conceiued with child, we desire of God that she may bring forth a sonne, which may enioy this kingdome when hee commeth to age. In the meane season appoint you of whom ye will be gouerned.

When

When *Perdicas* had spoken these words, *Nearchus* rose vp and said:

There is no man can deny, but that it were meet for *Alexanders* succession to continue in the bloud royall: but to looke for a King that is not yet borne, and to passe ouer one that is in his being already, is neither expedient for such men as the *Macedons* be, nor yet dooth serue the necessitie of the time. There is a sonne which *Alexander* begot by *Barsines*, what should Iet, why the Diadem may not be set on his head?

Nearchus tale was acceptable to no man. Therefore the *Souldiers* according to theyr custome, cladded their *speares* against the targets, and continued making of a noise. And when he would not forsake his opinion, but obstinately maintained the same, ymatter had almost bred a sedition, which thing perceiued by *Ptholomeus*, he spake after this maner. Neither the sonne of *Roxane* nor *Barsines*, is an issue meet to raigne ouer the *Macedons*, whose names we shuld be ashamed to mention within *Europe*, their mothers being captiues. Haue we subdued the *Persians* to that end, to become subiect to such as be descended of them? That was the thing which *Darius* and *Xerxes*, beeing Kings of *Perse*, wrought for in vaine, with so many millions

of men of warre, and with so many Nauies. This therefore is mine opinion, that *Alexanders* chaire of estate bee set in the middest of his court, and that al such as were wont to be of counsaile with him, shall assemble together, so often as any matter requireth to be consulted vpon: And that the Captains and rulers of the Army shall be obedient to that order, whereto the greatest number do assent.

There were some agreed with *Ptholomeus*, but fewe with *Perdiccas*. When *Ariston* spake in this wise,

When *Alexander* was demanded to whom he would leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthiest to be chosen. Whom iudged he worthiest but *Perdiccas*, to whom he deliuered his ring. This was not done at such time as he was alone, but when all his friends were present, he did cast his eyes amongst them, and at length chose out one, to whom he deliuered it. For this cause I thinke it right, that the kingdome be committed vnto *Perdiccas*.

Many agreed to his opinion, so that the assembly cryed to *Perdiccas*, that he should come forth amongst them, and take vp the Kings signet. But he stayed betwene ambition and shamesfastnesse, thinking the more modestie he vsed in getting the thing which hee

coueted,

coueted, they would be so much the more earnest to proffer it him. When hee had stood a good while at a stay, doubting what to doe, at length he drew back, and stood behind them which sat next vnto him. When *Meleager* that was one of the Captaines sawe the stay that *Perdiccas* made, hee took courage vpon his feeblenesse and said: A

Neither the gods will permit, nor men will suffer, that *Alexanders* estate, and the weight of so great an Empire should rest vpon his shoulders: I will not rehearse howe there be many men more noble then he is, and of greater worthinesse, without whose consent no such thing may be suffered to be done. There is no difference whether yee make *Perdiccas* king, or the sonne of *Roxane*, whensoever he shall be borne. Seeing *Perdiccas* goeth about to make himselfe King, vnder pretence to be gouernour to the Infant: That is the cause why no King can please him, but such as is not yet borne. And in such an hast as all we make to haue a king (which haste is both meete and necessary for the preservation of our estate.) He onely doth wayt for the expiring of times and moneths: imagining that she should bring forth a man child, which I thinke ye doubt not but hee is alreadie to counterfeit and exchange

exchange if need be. If it were so in verie deed, that *Alexander* had appointed him to be our king, I am of opinion that the same thing onely (of all the things he hath commaunded) ought not to bee performed and kept. Why do not you run therefore to spoile the treasure, seeing that the people ought to inherit it?

When he had spoken those words, he brake through the pikes of armed men: & they which gaue him way, followed him to the spoyle, wherof he had made mention. The greedines of the treasure caused a great band of armed men to flocke about *Meleager*, & the assembly began to fall to discorde and sedition: which had growne to greater inconuenience, if a mean souldier (whom very few did know) had not stepped forth, and spoken to the multitude.

What need we (quoth he) to fall to force or ciuil warre, seeing wee haue a king already, which you seek to finde? The same is *Arideus Philips* sonne, brother to *Alexander* that lately was our king, borne and brought vp in the same religion and ceremonies that we do vse: who being the only heire, I maruell by what deseruing of his he is ouerslipped, or what he hath done, why he should not enioy his right, descended vnto him by the vniuersall lawe of the world? If you seek
one

one to be compared to *Alexander*, you shall neuer find him. If you wil haue such a one as shall approch next vnto him, this is only he.

When these words were heard amongst the multitude, they kept silence at the first, as if they had bin commaunded by authoritie: but afterwardes they cryed with one voyce, that *Arideus* should be called, and that they were worthy death, whiche made any assembly without him. Then *Pythion* all besprinkled with teares, began to speake.

Now I pray you (quoth he) *Alexanders* case to be most miserable, seeing hee is defrauded of the fruit, which such as were his souldiers, & subiects should bring forth at such a time as this is. For you hauing respect only to the name & memory of your king, be vtterly blinde in the rest of things.

His wordes tended directly to the reproche of *Arideus*, that was elected king. But the tale procured more hatred to the speaker, then contempt to him against whome they were ment. For the compassion they had of *Arideus*, caused them the more to fauour his cause: and therfore declared by an obstinate cry, that they wold not suffer any to raigne ouer them, but him onely which was bozne to that possibilitie: and still called for *Arideus* to come forth amongst them. Whereupon *Meleager*
(for

(fo) the malice and enuy hee bare vnto Perdic-
cas) tooke an occasion boldly to bring him
into the assembly, whom the multitude salu-
ted as King, and called him Philip. This
was the voyce of the people: but the Nobilitie
was of another minde, of whome Python
tooke vpon him to put Perdiccas deuise in exe-
cution, and appointed Perdiccas and Leona-
rus (descended of the bloud royall) to be go-
uernours of the sounne which should be bozne
of Roxine: adding moreover, that Crate-
rus & Antipater should haue the rule within
Europe: and vpon this they swaie the sould-
iers to bee obedient to Alexanders issue.
Melcager then doubting (not without cause)
that some euill might come to him, departed
with such as were of his faction: but hee re-
turned immediatly againe, bringing Philip
with him into the court, & cryed out to y^e mul-
titude fo: the assisting of the commonwealth,
in ayding of the new King, whom a litle before
they had elected: and willed them to make an
experience of his actiuitie, perswading that he
was the meetest to rule ouer them, being the
issue of Philip, that had both a king to his fa-
ther, & a king to his brother. There is no pro-
found sea so stormy no: tempestuous, y^e raiseth
vp so many surges and waues, as a multitude
doth motiōs & alterations, whē they haue got
the

the bzible of a new libertie, not likely long to
continue. There wanted not some that gaue
they^r consent to Perdiccas; but moze agreed
to make Philip King. They could not neither
agree no: disagree to any thing long time to-
gether: one while repenting them of that they
had determined, & straightwaies fo:ethought
them of that repentance. Yet finally, they wer
inclined to prefer the Kings bloud. Arideus
was put in such feare with the authoritie of the
nobilitie, that he departed out of the assembly,
after whose departure, the fauour of the sould-
iers was rather silent, than decayed toward
him: So that at length he was called againe,
and his brothers bellare regall, which lay in
the chaire, put vpon him. And Meleager put
on his Armour, following as a defence to the
perion of the new King. The souldiers of the
foote-band clabbed they^r speares to they^r tar-
gets, threatening to shed they^r bloud, which
would colour the Kingdome that pertained not
to them. They reioyced that the force of the
Empire should not be disparkled, but stil con-
tinue in the same family: the right of whose
inheritance comming of the bloud royal, they
shewed themselves readie to defend. Fo: by
reason they were accustomed to haue y^e name
of their King in such honour and veneration,
they thought no man wo:thy of it, but such a
one

one as came thereto by discer of blood. Perdicas therfore was afraid, and with six hundred men that were of an approued manhood, tooke vpon him to defend the place whereas the bodie of Alexander lay. Ptholomeus ioynded himselfe vnto him also, and the band of the young Gentlemen that were about the Kings person. But so many thousands of armed men as were vpon the other side, did easily breake in vpon them. Among whom the King was present with a great band for the guard about his person: whereof Meleager was chiefe. Perdicas therfore in great furie, called such to his guard as would defend Alexanders bodie: but many of them were sore hurt with darts that were throwne from the contrary side. At last the ancient men plucked off their head pieces (the better to be knowne) and desired them which were with Perdicas to abstaine from civil warre, and giue place to the King, and to the greater part. Wherevpon Perdicas was the first that laide downe his weapon, and the rest did in like maner. Meleager then perswaded them that they should not depart, but remaine still about the dead corps: but he iudging that to be a deceit, and a meane to entrappe him, fledde to a place on the further side of Euphrates, lying ouer against the Court. When the horse-

men,

men, which consisted chiefly of the Nobilitie, flocked about Perdicas, & Leonatus, whose opinion was to depart out of the Citie, and take the fieldes: But because Perdicas was not without hope, that the souldiers would haue taken his part, he remained still within the Citie, least he might seeme to be the cause that the horsemen should divide themselves from the rest of the army. Meleager ceased not to beate in the Kings head, that he could not establishe himselfe surely in his estate, otherwise then by the death of Perdicas, whose ambitious mind, desirous of inuasion, was (hee said) to be prevented in time. Hee willed the King to remember what Perdicas had deserued at his handes, and that no man could bee faithfull to him, whom he feared. The King suffering the thing, rather then giuing his consent to the matter, Meleager tooke his silence for a commandement, and sent for Perdicas in the Kings name: and they which were sent, had commission to kill him, if hee made any sticking to come with them. Perdicas hearing of their comming, accompanied only with sixteen young Gentlemen (accustomed to attend vpon Alexanders person) met them as they would haue entered into his lodging, and calling them Meleagers slaues, rebuked the with such a constancy,

both

both of minde and countenance, that they returned backe againe as men amazed. Perdicas willed suche as were in his company to keepe on horsebacke: and with a fewe of his friends repayzed vnto Leonatus, minding if any violence were moued against him to repulse it with a greater force. The next day the Macedons grugged, and thought it a matter unfitting, that Perdicas should be brought in danger of death after such sort: and therefore determined with force to reuenge the rashnes of Meleagers dongge. But he understanding of the mutenie that was amongst the souldiers, gaue place: and they repaired to the king, demanding of him if he had commaunded Perdicas to be taken. He confessed the thing: but it was done (he said) by Meleagers motion, which he declared to be no cause for them to make any stirre, seeing that Perdicas was alive. The assembly hereupon brake vp, and Meleager became greatly afraid, specially so astonied by the parting of the horsemen, that he wist not what to do: for he saw the mischief (which he a little before had wrought against his enemy) like to light vpon himselfe. And whiles he deuised this & that, thre daies were consumed & spent. The wonted forme and fashion of the Court did remaine in the meane season. For the Embassadors of diuers nations

made

made repaire vnto the king: the captaines of the army did assemble about him, & the guard wayted in armour as they were accustomed. But the great sadnes that was there without any apparant cause, signified some extreame dispaire. There was such a suspicion amongst themselves, that men durst not company together, nor speake one to another, but stood imagining secretly with themselves: and by comparing the time present with the time past, and the new king with the old, they began to desire him that was gone. The one enquired of another, where he was become, whose fortune and authoritie they had followed: When they founde themselves abandoned amongst so many wilde nations, which were desirous vpon any occasion that might fall, to be reuenged of the iniuries they had receiued. Whiles they were troubled in these imaginations, word was brought that the horsemen (which were vnder Perdicas) kept the fieldes about Babilon, and stayed all victuals, coming to the Citie. Whereupon first began a scarcitie, and afterwards a famine. Therefore such as were within the Citie, thought good, eyther to make a reconciliation with Perdicas, or else to fight out the matter: It chaunced that such as dwelled abroad in the countrey, fearing the spoyle of the Villages,

At

repai-

repaired into the Citie. And they within the Citie for lacke of victualls departed into the country: so that euery one thought themselves surer any where, then in their owne habitations. When the Macedons doubting some great inconuenience that might come of this feare, assembled together in the Court, and shewed forth their opinions. It was agreed amongst them that Embassadors should be sent to the horsemen for the settling of all strife and diuision, Pafas a Thessalian, Amillas a Megapolitan, and Derelans were sent from the King: who declaring their commission, received answer, that the horsemen would not seuer their power, till the authors of the sedition were deliuered into their hands. When they were returned, & their answer knowne, the souldiers without any appointment, put on their armour, and made such a tumult, that the King was enforced to come forth of the Court, and said vnto them:

I we shal be at strife amongst our selues, our enemies that be quiet, shall enioy the fruit of our contention. Remember that the quarrell is with your owne countrey men, with whom if ye rashly breake the hope of reconcilment, ye shall be the beginners of a ciuil warre: Let vs proue if the matter may be mitigated by an other Embassate. I am
of

of opinion, that forasmuch as *Alexanders* body remaineth yet vnburied, they wil gladly come together, to performe the due vnto the dead. And for my part, I had rather surrender vp againe this dignitie, then any bloud should be shed amongst my country men. For if no other hope of concord doo remaine, I desire and pray you to make a better choyse.

And with that word he swept, and pulling the Diadem from his head, & holding the same forth with his hand, readie to haue deliuered it to any man that would haue claymed to be more worthe then he. The moderation that he vsed both in his words, and his behauiour, caused them all to conceiue a great good hope of his noble nature, which (till that time) was obscured with his brothers fame. They therefore required and encouraged him to goe forwards in the matter, as he had deuised: whereupon he sent again for Embassadors the same men that went before: which had commission to require, that Meleager might be the third ruler of the men of warre. That matter was not much sticke at: for Perdicas was desirous to remoue Meleager from y^e king, and thought that he alone should not be able to match with Leonarus and him. Vpon this Meleager marched out of the Citie with the
Ar 2 footmen:

footmen: and Perdicas met him in the fieldes, ryding befoze the bandes of the Horsemen. Where both battailes saluting one another, conkozde, peace, and amitte, was confirmed betwixt them for ever (as it was thought.) But it was decreed by destiny that ciuil wars should rise amongst the Macedons, for gouernment is vnpatient of partners: and the kingdom was coueted by many. Which as it first grew in force, so afterwards it was disappeared again. For when the body was vntioned with mo heads then it could beare, the other members began to faile. So the empire of the Macedons, which vnder one head might well haue stood, when it was diuided in partes, fell to ruine. For that cause the people of Rome iustly must confesse themselves bound vnto their prince, for the felicity they haue found: Which as a starre in the night appeared vnto them, were nere lost: And as the sun gaue light to the world being in darknesse, when without such a head & members that were at variance must needs haue quailed: How many firebrandes did hee quench? How many swordes ready drawen did he put vp again: how great a tempest did he pacifie with the sodain calme of his presence? The Empire now doth waie graene and flourishing: Let me desire without stry, that his house may continue many ages, and

and his posteritie remaine for evermore: but to returne againe to the order of the Historie, from whence I was brought through the contemplation of our vniuersall felicitie: Perdicas iudged the onely hope of his owne safegarde, to consist in the death of Meleager: thinking it necessary to pzenent him, being a man both variable, vnfull, given to inuouation, and besides his mortal enemy. But with deepe dissimulation hee kept his purpose secret, to the intent that with lesse difficultie, hee might oppresse him vnawares. He did subornate therfore priuily certaine of the bands vnder his rule, to complain openly (as though it were without his knowledge) that Meleager should be made equall with him in authoritie: which wordes of the Souldiers, when they were reported vnto Meleager, became in a great rage, and declared their sayings to Perdicas. Hee seemed to wonder at the matter, blaming theyr doing, as though he had bene sorie for the thing: and finally they agreed that the authozs of suche seditious wordes should be taken. When Meleager perceived Perdicas so consozmable, hee embraced him, and gaue him thanks for his fidelitie and beneuolence. There by a consultation had betwixt them both, they deuised how to destroy such as wrought this diuision betwixt them.

For by bringing of y to passe, they agreed y army should be purged according to their country custom. To the doing wherof, they seemed to haue a sufficient occasion, by reason of the late discorde amongst them. The kings of Macedon in purifying of their soldiers, were wont to vse a kinde of ceremony, diuiding the bowels of a dog in two parts, and to cast the same in the uttermost bounds of the field, whereon they purposed to muster the armie. Where the men of warre accustomed to stand armed: both the horsemen, the mercenarie souldiers, and the phalanx, euery one apart. The same day that this ceremonie was put in execution, the king stood in order of battaile with the horsemen and the Elephants against the footemen, of whom Meleager had the rule. When the troupes of horsemen began to moue, the footemen were stricken sodainly with feare: and by reason of the late discorde, conceived a suspicion that the Horsemen meant them no good. Wherefore they stood a while in doubt, whether they should retire into the Citie or no, by reason that the fields serued best for the horsemen. But lest without cause they might condemn the fidelitie of theyr companions, stood still with a determinate minde to fight if any proffered them violence. When the battailes were almost met together, onely a small distance

stance left betwixt them (wherby the one part was diuided from the other) the king by the prouocation of Perdicas, with a bande of horsemen did ride along the footemen, requiring the deliuey of such to be executed, as were the authours of the discorde: whome in very need, though he ought to haue defended: yet if they refused their deliuey, he threatned to bring against them, both the horsemen & the Elephants. The footemen were amazed with the suddennes of the mischiese, which they looked not for: and there was no more counsell nor courage in Meleager then in the rest: but they all iudged it most expedient for them, rather to abide the aduenture of that request, then further to hazard fortune. When Perdicas saw them astonied and in feare, he seuered out to the number of three hundred of such as followed Meleager, when he brake out of the assembly, that was first made after Alexanders death: which in the sight of all the armie were cast to the Elephants, and there trampled to death with their feet, of which matter Philip was neither the authour, nor the forbider: but thought to claime that for his owne doing, which should appeare best in the end. This was a significatiō and a beginning vnto the Macedons of ciuil wars that ensued. Meleager vnderstanding ouer late the flight

of that deuice, because there was no violence offered vnto his person, stood at the first quietly within the square: but shortly after, when he saw his enemies abusing to his destruction the name of him whom he had made king, he dispaired of his owne safegard, and fled into a Temple. But the religion of the place could not so defend him, that that he was there slain. Perdicas herevpon brought againe the army into the Citie: and calling a councell of all the principall personages, it was agreed so to diuide the Empire, that the King should remaine as chiefe of the whole: Ptholomeus to be Lieutenant in Egypt and Aphricke, and to haue the rule of the nations there, that were vnder the Macedons dominion. Siria and Phenices were appointed to Laomedon, Cilicia to Philotas, Licia with Pamphilia, and the greater Phrigia, were assigned to Antigonus. Cassander was sent into Caria, and Menander into Cidia. The lesser Phrigia that ioyned vnto Hellespont, was Leonatus Province. Eumenes had Cappadocia & Paphlagonia, who was commaunded to defend that countrey so far as Trapefunt, and make warre to Ariarches, which onely remained enemy to the Empire. Media was appointed to Python, & Thrace to Lysmachus, with other nations thereabout bordering vpon the sea

sea of Ponte. It was ordeined also that such as should be presidents amongst the Indians, Bactrians, Sogdians, and other nations lying vpon the Ocean and red seas, should in matter of iustice vse regall iurisdiction. It was decreed that Perdicas should remaine with the king, & haue the gouernance of the men of warre that folowed him. Some beleue that these prouinces were distributed by Alexanders testament: but we haue found the same to be false, though some authoz do witnesse the same. The Empire being diuided into parts, euery one might well haue defended his portion, if any bounds could conteine mens immoderate desires: or if they being but ministers vnto a king, when vnder the colour of the administration of an others dominion they had encroched into so great kingdomes, could haue auoided the occasions of war, seeing they were all of one nation, and had their countries appointed out by limits. But it is hard for me to be contented with that they haue in possession, when occasion is profered them of more. For the first thinges alwayes appeare of no value, when men be in hope of greater things to come: so that euery one of them thought it an easier matter to encrease his kingdom, then it was to get it at the first. Alexanders bodie in the meane season lay seuen dayes vnburi-

ed;

ed; for whilst every man had care upon the establishing of the state, they2 mindes were drawn from the doing of that solemne Office. There is no countrey more feruent of heat then Mesopotamia, for the sun there burneth so hotte, that it killeth the beasts that be without couert, and burneth vp all thinges as it were with fire. And to the encrease thereof, there be few springs of water, and the inhabitants vse suche policie in hyding of those they haue, that strangers can haue no vse of them. This notwithstanding, when Alexanders friendes had gotten leisure to take care of the dead corpes, & came to visit y same, they found it without infection, corruption, or chaunge of colour: the same cheerfulness which consisteth of the spirit, not being yet departed out of his countenance. When the Egyptians & the Caldeis were commanded to dresse his bodie after they2 maner: who at the first (as though he had bene alive) had a feare to put they2 hands to him. But afterwards making they2 praiers y it might be lawfull for mortall men to touch him, they purged his bodie, and filled it with sweete odours: and afterward laid him vpon a hearse of Gold, and set a Dyadem vpon his head. Many thought y he dyed of poyson, and that Iolla Antipaters sonne, being one of his ministers, had given him the same. Alexander

der oftentimes woulde say, that Antipater coueted the estate of a King, affecting moze greatnes then pertained to a Lieutenant, and that through glozie of the victorie he had gotten of the Lacedemonians, was become so proud, that he claymed all things committed vnto him as his owne. It is thought also that Craterus was sent to kill him, with those old souldiers that were dismissed. It is certaine that there is a poyson in Macedon found in a water called Sufstiges, of such force, that it consumeth Iron, and will not be contained in any thing sauing in the haue of an horse or mule: which poyson was brought by Cassander, and deliuered to his brother Iolla, which presented it in the drink y the king last drank: howsoeuer these things be reported, the power of them of whom the rumoz went, shortly after oppressed the infamy. For Antipater became king both of Macedon & of Greece, and his children after him: which put to death all such as were any thing nere of kin vnto Alexander. Ptholomeus (which had the rule of Egypt) coueied Alexanders body to Memphis, which within fewe yeeres after was removed to Alexandria, whereas all honoz is giuen to the memory of him, and to his name.

FINIS.